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ST. MARK AND  
THE TRIPLE TRADITION



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ST. MARK  
AND THE  
TRIPLE TRADITION

BY THE  
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2011112

LONDON  
JAMES NISBET & CO., LIMITED  
22 BERNERS STREET, W.  
1907



Edinburgh : T. and A. CONSTABLE, Printers to His Majesty



## PREFACE

THE tendency of recent scholarship has been to exalt the importance of the once comparatively neglected Gospel according to St. Mark. The objects of the present writer are, firstly, to show causes for this increased estimate of the second Gospel; secondly, to examine how far the results obtained may be reconciled with ancient tradition respecting its origin; and, thirdly, to emphasise the significance which the modern estimate of its priority has for the Christology of the Catholic Faith. In the course of his study of the questions involved he has found occasion to change his views more than once. The oral hypothesis found great favour with him at one time, and it was with reluctance that he found himself compelled partially to abandon it. He subsequently tried, but without success, to maintain that St. Mark's Gospel as we now possess it lay before the writers of the other Synoptic records. Some few results he has arrived at which, so far as he knows, are different from the conclusions reached by previous labourers in the field; but he is

conscious of the many limitations imposed on him by pressure of parochial and other duties, and by his distance from any of the great consulting libraries of the country. The books which he has found helpful he has mentioned in the footnotes, sometimes indeed in terms of criticism which he has felt to be presumptuous; but he is convinced that the works of great scholars are rightly used as stepping-stones whereby students of less power may mount to fresh discoveries; no honour is done them when their names are used as weights to crush the free expression of opinions divergent from those which they may have maintained. He takes this opportunity thankfully to acknowledge that he has mentioned not a single book nor article in his footnotes from which he has not extracted valuable information, often the most valuable from writers with whom he is least in agreement. If his work should be found to contribute any element of value to the investigation of the great problems with which it deals, he will indeed be grateful to Him who alone gives power to work.

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THE RELATIONS OF THE SECOND GOSPEL TO THE FIRST  
AND THIRD—THE ORAL HYPOTHESIS

THE Gospel (εὐαγγέλιον) is the name by which the revelation of God's love and mercy towards mankind, made through our Lord Jesus Christ, became known to the Christian community. The word bears this sense seventy-four times out of the seventy-six in which it occurs in the New Testament. In accordance with this usage the earliest Christian preachers were termed Evangelists (εὐαγγελισταί).<sup>1</sup> In Mark i. 1, however, the word Gospel bears a slightly different meaning.<sup>2</sup> The 'good tidings' are those of the perfect life, cruel death, and glorious resurrection of the Son of God, rather than the application of these facts to the needs of man. This modification of meaning lends support to the theory that this verse did not come from the pen of the original writer of the record, but

Meaning of  
the word  
Gospel.

<sup>1</sup> Dean Armitage Robinson, *Com. on Eph.* iv. 11, seems to restrict the Scriptural use of this word to 'those who are specially engaged in the extension of the Gospel to new regions.' However, the first instance he gives (Acts xxi. 8) refers to a minister with a settled home in Palestine.

<sup>2</sup> In Phil. iv. 15 the word signifies the period during which the revelation was current in the Church.

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was prefixed by a scribe at a very early date.<sup>1</sup> From this use of the word the transition is easy to that of a written record of these facts, and the term Evangelist becomes correspondingly narrowed down to denote the writers of such records. In the first two centuries there were many evangelists; to us there are but four, inasmuch as practically all the knowledge we have of these great events comes to us from four written sources. Every preacher of the Gospel to-day must rely for his facts on these. Probably the disuse of the word Evangelist to denote a special class of ministers arose from the growing consciousness of the Church as time went on that no fresh publication of the historical events which lie at the root of her faith could be expected. The four accounts of our Saviour's earthly ministry had come to be the only sources from which the facts could be drawn, and the only standards by which any presentation of them could be tried. In combination they contain the one Gospel; in distinction from each other they became known as the Gospel according to St. Matthew, St. Mark, St. Luke, or St. John. In the following pages these names, without the title 'Saint' which identifies the writers with persons mentioned in the New Testament, will be used to denote the compilers of these records, the title only being prefixed if and when the identity of the writer has been ascertained.

<sup>1</sup> Swete, *Com. St. Mark, ad loc.*, suggests early in the second century.

## CONNECTION BETWEEN THE GOSPELS 3

New Testament scholars have for many years exercised their critical discernment, or ingenuity, in attempting to explain the connection subsisting between these four Canonical Gospels. That a relationship of some sort exists is patent to the most casual reader; the more careful his study, the more is he impressed with its extraordinary complexity. Not one, but several problems soon leap to light. The best hope of finding a solution to the whole question lies in the possibility of attacking these problems in detail. Fortunately they can to a considerable extent be isolated. The fourth Gospel, for example, is universally held to have been composed at a later date than the others. How far it is dependent on them, or presupposes the knowledge of them, is a problem of much importance, but quite capable of being held over until other difficulties have been provisionally disposed of. Similarly, the large amount of matter common only to the first and third Gospels is capable to a great extent of separate treatment. The character of the relationship subsisting between the first three, commonly called the Synoptic Gospels, is the question which naturally holds the first place in any discussion of the subject.

If the second of the Canonical Gospels be divided into ninety-three sections according to subject-matter,<sup>1</sup> only three of these will be seen to be entirely peculiar

The second Gospel almost entirely included in the first and third.

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix II. Section 20 of St. Mark is here treated as two sections.



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to it,<sup>1</sup> four more are wanting to the first Gospel,<sup>2</sup> and fifteen to the third,<sup>3</sup> leaving seventy-one sections more or less fully represented in all three.<sup>4</sup> Occasionally the first and third Gospels contain phenomena which suggest the use of sources unknown to, or unused by, the author of the second. Apart from these, and sundry agreements of language, there is scarcely anything of importance common to them, which does not appear in the accounts of the same incidents found in the second Gospel.

hypotheses  
account  
for this.

the 'oral'  
hypothesis.

ts *a priori*  
probability.

Two simple ways of accounting for this similarity have been suggested. Either all three Gospels, although independent of each other, are drawn from a very completely developed oral tradition, or else later Gospels are largely copied from earlier ones. The first of these, commonly known as the 'oral hypothesis,' was originated apparently by Gieseler, has been supported by the great authority of Bishop Westcott, and has lately been very fully elaborated by Dr. A. Wright in his *Synopsis of the Gospels*, and other works. The *a priori* probability of it is considerable. Even such a revolutionary critic as Dr. Schmiedel<sup>5</sup> says 'it is hardly possible not to believe that the Christology of the

<sup>1</sup> Peculiarly Marcan sections iv. 26-29; vii. 31-37; viii. 22-26.

<sup>2</sup> Wanting in Matthew; Mark i. 21-28, 35-39; ix. 38-40; xii. 41-44.

<sup>3</sup> Wanting in Luke; Mark vi. 17-29, 45; viii. 26 (eight sections); x. 1-12, 35-41; xi. 12-14, 19-25; xiv. 3-9; xv. 16-20, 34-36.

<sup>4</sup> For remarks on the conclusion of the second Gospel, see below, pp. 83-87.

<sup>5</sup> *Encycl. Bibl.*, Art. 'Acts of the Apostles,' vol. i. § 14.

speeches of Peter (in the Acts of the Apostles) must have come from a primitive source.' In other words, we may accept the statement that the Apostles at Jerusalem invited their hearers to 'repent and be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ unto remission of sins,' and that they described this Jesus as 'a man approved of God unto you by mighty works and wonders which God did by Him in the midst of you.' If so, the first converts must have been intensely anxious to hear and to commit to memory all that the Apostles could tell them about these 'mighty works and wonders.' An accurate knowledge of these things derived at first-hand would be considered a matter of supreme importance. To the modern Western mind the way to obtain it would be obvious. A trustworthy biography must be published. It is scarcely conceivable that this would suggest itself to the Apostles. They would inevitably follow the methods of their age and country. The example of their Lord and Master would weigh strongly with them, and His method of teaching seems to have been entirely oral. The same was the case with the Rabbis. They depended upon the teaching now embodied in the Mishna as a guide, moral, ceremonial, and religious, to a righteous life. Subordinate to this in practical importance stood the precepts of the Old Testament Scriptures. The Mishna was not edited in written form till the reign of Hadrian, A.D. 132-135, and then only partially. In the time of the Apostles Jewish

The first teachers would follow methods of instruction prevalent at the time.

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scribes had to learn by heart the precepts of the Oral Law, said to have been delivered from mouth to mouth from the days of Moses, and the comments of the great Rabbis besides.<sup>1</sup> We may therefore take it as certain that the approved method of teaching throughout Judaea in the first century was oral.

No call at first to rely on written documents.

There was nothing either in the character of what the Apostles had to teach, or in the circumstances of their hearers, to induce them to forsake this method. The notion of adding to the number of the sacred books, if it ever occurred to them, would be repelled as savouring of blasphemy. The need of relying on published records of the facts on which the faith depended would only present itself to the minds of Christians in Jerusalem as the likelihood that the Saviour's second coming would be delayed beyond the term of their earthly life began to dawn upon them. So long as the living voice could proclaim 'that which we have heard, that which we have seen with our eyes, that which we beheld and our hands handled concerning the Word of Life,'<sup>2</sup> a written record would attract comparatively little notice. The words of Papias, 'I did not think that I could get so much profit from the contents of books as from the utterance of a living and abiding voice,'<sup>3</sup> may be taken as expressing the prevailing sentiment of, at any rate, the first two generations of

<sup>1</sup> Edersheim, *Life and Times*, vol. i., c. viii. pp. 97-103.

<sup>2</sup> 1 John i. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Euseb., *H.E.* iii. 39, Lightfoot's transl. ; *Apost. Fathers*, p. 528.

Christians. The notion of a superior dignity and authority attaching itself to formulae, perpetuated by oral tradition, seems to have passed from Rabbinism into the Church, to have spread far and wide, and to have lasted long, its latest relic being the oral transmission of the Creed—a custom which survived to the sixth century.<sup>1</sup>

It is therefore probable that the earliest converts to Christianity, living at the centre of Rabbinism, would be anxious to hear details of the life of Him whom, under one aspect, they regarded as the greatest of Rabbis, and that the Apostles would be both willing and more or less competent to instruct them by word of mouth. Thus the contents of the Gospels might become very generally known to Christians in Jerusalem before they had been written out in any continuous form.

Dr. Wright, in his little book *On the Composition of the Four Gospels*, chap. ii., finds traces of regular instruction of this character going on under the name of teaching (*διδασκαλία*), as distinct from evangelising or preaching the good news, and from prophesying, which seems to denote a peculiarly exalted and spiritual type of preaching. That something of the kind was known in Gentile Churches may be gathered from the preface to the third Gospel, where Theophilus,

Instruction  
would be  
oral.

There are  
traces of  
such in-  
struction in  
the New  
Testament.

<sup>1</sup> Aug., *Serm.* ccxii. : 'Nec ut eadem verba Symboli teneatis ullo modo debetis scribere ; sed audiendo perdiscere ; nec cum dediceritis scribere, sed memoria semper tenere atque recolere,' etc.

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the Gentile to whom the work is dedicated, is informed that the Gospel was written in order that he might know the certainty of those things about which he had been orally instructed (περὶ ὧν κατηχήθης, Luke i. 4).

The case for  
a distinct  
order of  
catechists  
not made  
out.

Dr. Wright has a good deal to tell us about the order of catechists. In this connection he seems to have fairly laid himself open to the criticisms of Dr. Sanday:<sup>1</sup> 'Least of all can I suppose that there was any deliberate training—almost a college with St. Peter or St. Matthew at its head—for sending out relays of qualified instructors.' The case for a distinct 'order' of catechists does not seem to be very conclusively made out. It is noteworthy that in Eph. iv. 11 St. Paul distinguishes the different orders by the use of the article 'τοὺς μὲν ἀποστόλους, τοὺς δὲ προφήτας, τοὺς δὲ εὐαγγελιστάς,' but the 'teachers' are combined with the 'pastors,' 'τοὺς δὲ ποιμένας καὶ διδασκάλους,' as if the duty of catechising, demanding as it did a somewhat lengthy residence among the persons under instruction, already devolved upon the resident ministry—a condition of things confessedly reached when the Pastoral Epistles were written.<sup>2</sup> In 1 Cor. xii. 28 there is no mention of ποιμένες. They are absorbed into the more general term διδάσκαλοι,

<sup>1</sup> *Expositor*, 4th series, vol. iii. p. 85; Dr. Wright, *Synopsis*, Introd., xv, answering a similar objection on the part of Bishop Gore, maintains that it proves too much, that the same might be said of many Christian institutions. One would have liked instances, however.

<sup>2</sup> *Compos. of the Gospels*, p. 12.

and after the 'teachers' the Apostle glides from the enumeration of offices into that of gifts, as if the word formed a natural transition, ἔπειτα δυνάμεις, κ.τ.λ. In Romans xii. 6 we have an enumeration of χαρίσματα, not of offices, and in 1 Thess. v. 12 St. Paul is clearly describing the various labours of one class of persons, *i.e.* the presbyters, although different individuals may have excelled in different ways. Yet even if no proof can be found of the existence of a separate order of catechists, there must have been, in the very nature of things, oral instruction in the facts of our Saviour's life.

Nevertheless at a period when, as the Egyptian papyri clearly show, the knowledge of writing was common among all classes, and the Christian faith was rapidly spreading to lands where the converts had not often the privilege of hearing those whom Luke's preface terms 'eye-witnesses of the Word,' it was natural that they should desire some written record of the facts narrated to them in what was perhaps a flying visit of one of the Apostles, and that this wish should be gratified by the zeal and industry of one of his companions. To some such circumstance, if tradition is to be trusted, we owe the composition of our second Gospel.

Instruction oral, yet it was natural that written accounts should soon be made.

Tradition of second Gospel.

The third Gospel was certainly written by a person of literary instincts, and the tendency of such an one would be to follow the 'littera scripta' of previous workers in that line rather than an oral tradition

The third Gospel derived from documents.

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which, it may be conjectured, tended soon to become confused and contradictory.

The unlikelihood that words and order of narrative would be preserved by memory alone.

The same can not be so decidedly said as regards the first Gospel, but when the three are compared together the doubt whether they can independently of each other have relied entirely on oral tradition becomes very strong. Although it is probable, nay, almost certain, that the substance of the Gospel story must have become familiar to most converts by oral tradition, yet that, being able for the most part to write, they would burden their memories to any great extent with the words in which it was told, or preserve by the help of memory alone the order in which its incidents were first arranged, appears most unlikely.

Extent of identity of words in Synoptics.

Without examination, it is not easy to realise the extent of the identity of words and phrases subsisting in the Synoptic records. Out of 661 verses in Mark 198 are reproduced almost, if not quite, verbatim in Matthew, 96 in Luke; 212 are largely reproduced in Matthew, 155 in Luke; 95 are reproduced to some extent in Matthew, 93 in Luke; 60 in Matthew show slight signs of interdependency, 112 in Luke. Thus signs of identity of language with the 661 verses of Mark are found in 565 verses of Matthew, and in 456 verses of Luke, such verses appearing in every chapter, and in all but three of the shorter sections into which the second Gospel naturally falls.



When we pass from the reproduction of words and phrases to that of the order of incidents, the result is scarcely less remarkable. Dividing the second Gospel into ninety-four sections we find that ten of these occur in a different order in the first, and possibly sixteen in the third, the uncertainty of the latter figure being due to the doubt whether some of these transposed sections may not really be records of events distinct from, although similar to, those narrated by Mark.<sup>1</sup>

Without questioning that all this mass of words, and this long series of narratives, might be committed to and retained in the memory, urgent cause demanding such labour, no sufficiently strong motive has yet been alleged for this to have been done here. The oral tradition of Rabbinism would certainly induce the Apostles to teach orally, but the reason why the Oral Law of the Rabbis was not committed to writing was that this was supposed to have been divinely forbidden to Moses, and if to Moses *a fortiori* to his descendants. Only such a consideration could have kept the Oral Law unwritten for so many generations. Dr. Wright suggests safety as a motive; to possess Christian books would be to court punishment in days of persecution.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Especially noteworthy is the remark in Hastings' *D. B.*, vol. ii., Gospels, p. 239, as to the way in which after long digressions both Matthew and Luke frequently take up the thread of Mark's story at the very point where they left it.

<sup>2</sup> Wright's *Synopsis*, Introd., chap. ii.

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But to write Christian books would involve no such risk in quiet days, and the Church had many such. It is an anachronism to think of the early persecutors making search for the sacred writings, and if they made no special search it would never occur to Christians to forbear literary composition lest some day the results should imperil their lives. In view of the phenomena which the Gospels present we are most likely to be on the right track if we regard what is peculiar to each writer as derived more or less from oral tradition, what they have in common as due to the use of written records. Yet even in the matter common to the Synoptics a few traces of the operation of oral tradition may be discerned.

Traces of  
the operation of oral  
tradition.

1. In connection with other portions of our subject, we shall have to give instances of the dual tradition common to the first and third Gospels being interwoven in various connections and contexts with the triple tradition common to all three. If the authority for the dual tradition, as far as it comprises sayings of our Lord, be some volume of 'Dominical Oracles' (*λόγια κυριακά*) as is largely maintained, and if these 'oracles' were set down without note of time or place, oral tradition, in an age when the first generation of Christians had not passed away, would be quick to supply the omission. If the sayings were repeated on different occasions, different traditions would be all the more likely to arise, notwithstanding that in some cases Evangelists may have set floating sayings of our

Lord in the contexts to which they seemed to have most affinity.

2. We find instances of what look like various traditions of the same event, or two similar events, the narratives of which have to some extent intermingled. Matt. ix. 32-34, cf. xii. 22-24, is a good example. Another is the feeding of the five thousand and the four thousand respectively, Matt. xiv. 15-21 and xv. 32-39; Mark vi. 35-44 and viii. 1-9. In the third Gospel we have a distinct tradition of our Lord's visit to Nazareth, Luke iv. 16-30; of the anointing of His feet by a sinful woman, vii. 36-50; of the institution of the Holy Eucharist, xxii. 14-23; of the denial of St. Peter, xxii. 31-34, 54-62; and of numerous details of the Saviour's Passion, xxiii. 2, 6-11, 14, 15, 19, 34, 39-43, 46, 48; and Resurrection, xxiv. 4.

3. In Mark iii. 1-6, Matt. xii. 9-14, Luke vi. 6-11, we have the story of the healing of the man with the withered hand. In Luke xiv. 1-6 there is a somewhat similar story of a cure of dropsy. The argument used in Luke xiv. 5 appears in Matt. xii. 11. It has been attached to both miracles, probably one would say through the influence of oral tradition.

4. In Mark vii. 21, 22, the list of defilements proceeding out of a man is confused in order; in Matt. xv. 19 it follows the order of the Ten Commandments. This certainly has the look of an alteration for mnemonic purposes, but it may be a deliberate revision.

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5. The cries of the multitude at our Lord's triumphal entry into Jerusalem are reported variously by the Synoptists. It is a point where oral tradition would naturally come in. Mark xi. 9, 10, Matt. xxi. 9, Luke xix. 38.

6. Mark xii. 28, Matt. xxii. 35, Luke x. 25. A touch or two in the introduction to the Parable of the Good Samaritan in Luke occurs also in Matthew. If the writer of the first Gospel did not know the parable, the medium was probably oral tradition.

7. The second Gospel relates how Judas betrayed our Lord with a kiss. Various traditions existed of His response to that treacherous salutation (Matt. xxvi. 50, Luke xxii. 48). That in the first Gospel sounds the most authentic—a reply cut short by the action of the soldiers. Similarly, while Mark xiv. 47 tells how St. Peter cut off the ear of the high priest's servant, various traditions existed with regard to the notice our Lord took of the act (Matt. xxvi. 52, Luke xxii. 51).

Conclusion.  
The agree-  
ment of the  
Synoptics  
only in part  
due to oral  
tradition.

Through such instances as these, and they abound on almost every page of the Synoptic records, we see oral tradition at work. How far it may also have worked along lines where the traces of its influence have been obscured through the concurrent operation of other forces, it is impossible to say. Enough has been brought forward to show that no absolutely simple solution of the Synoptic problem, or even of that part of it with which we are here concerned, can be looked

for. That the Synoptic writers worked independently of each other from one and the same oral tradition has been shown to be improbable. Still less probable is it that they made no use of oral tradition concurrently with written records.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Hastings' *D. B.*, vol. ii., *Gospels*, p. 238.

## II

RELATIONS OF THE SECOND GOSPEL TO THE FIRST AND  
THIRD. THE SECOND THE EARLIEST, AND IN SOME  
FORM USED BY THE OTHER TWO.

Did one of  
the Synop-  
tic Gospels  
serve as a  
source for  
the other  
two?

If the oral hypothesis is not sufficient, will the theory that one of our Synoptic Gospels served as a source for the other two yield any better result? In its earliest form we find it stated by St. Augustine: 'Matthaeus suscepisse intelligitur . . . Marcus eum subsecutus, tanquam pedisequus et breviator ejus videtur. Cum solo quippe Joanne nihil dixit; solus ipse perpauca; cum solo Luca, pauciora; cum Matthaeo vero, plurima; et multa paene totidem atque ipsis verbis, sive cum solo, sive cum ceteris consonante.'<sup>1</sup> The Evangelists wrote in the order in which their works are arranged in the Canon, and each apparently had seen the writings of his predecessors. In recent times Hilgenfeld revived the theory as regards at least the Synoptic Gospels, basing his opinion on grounds of scientific historical criticism, but the decision of scholars has for the most part gone against him.

In comparing the Synoptic Gospels we soon discover that the greater part of Mark's Gospel is comprised in

<sup>1</sup> *De Consensu Evang.*, i. 4.

both the others, and generally with the same order of incidents and discourses. It is easy to put out of court the suggestion that Mark acted simply as the abbreviator of one, and a source of the other. For if he was the abbreviator of Matthew, how (*e.g.*) did he get the details of the cure of the paralytic which he has in common with Luke, and which Matthew omits? If he was the abbreviator of Luke, what are we to make of the 'great omission' in the third Gospel, throughout the main portion of which Matthew and Mark are in the closest agreement? He must be supposed not only to abbreviate, but frequently to supplement the Gospel he has before him. Besides the Gospel he is abbreviating, some other source or sources covering the same ground lie before him. This of course is not impossible, but to assume it is to depart from the simplicity of the hypothesis. Either throughout the series of short miracle-narratives, occurring in the eighth and ninth chapters of Matthew, or else in the record of incidents from Mark vi. 45 to viii. 26, the writer of the second Gospel fills up his abbreviation with details or narratives which are adopted wholesale by the later writer who makes use of him. It would certainly be simpler to suppose that he had both the first and third Gospels before him, and transcribed a phrase or a passage now from one, now from the other. It is hardly necessary to observe that this difficulty would still remain were we to presume that either Matthew or Luke, while making use of Mark, were also ac-

St. Mark  
not the  
abbrevia-  
tor of one  
Gospel and  
the source  
of another.



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quainted with whichever of them served as Mark's exemplar.

Objections  
to the  
theory that  
St. Mark  
was the  
abbrevia-  
tor of the  
other two.

We are therefore led to consider the possibility that the second Gospel is an abbreviation of both the other Synoptics. Against this lies the objection that in matter, in arrangement, and in style, the second Gospel produces the impression of containing the evangelic tradition in an earlier form than the others.

As regards  
matter,  
'secondary  
traits.'

As regards matter, there are what are called 'secondary' traits in all three, but these are far more abundant in the first and third than in the second. It seems necessary to define what is meant here by the expression 'secondary traits.' An attempt has been made by some Continental scholars to find out the relative antiquity of different parts of the Synoptic Gospels by means of an elaborate theory of the gradual development of doctrine in the Church of the first ages. It is not proposed here to start from the uncertain basis of a theory going behind the earliest records.<sup>1</sup> At the same time, it is not unnatural to look for expressions in those records which appear to owe their origin to the fuller light cast back upon the events of our Lord's earthly life as a consequence of the Pentecostal illumination. One may reasonably suppose that the later the record the more abundant would be the traces of

What are  
'secondary  
traits'?

<sup>1</sup> 'Die Untersuchungen von Usener, A. Meyer, Resch, Wellhausen, Dalman kommen hier in Betracht. Man fragt nicht mehr nach Priorität oder Abhängigkeit, sondern: was ist alt, semitisch in sprachlicher und religiöser Hinsicht?' Wernle, *Syn. Frage*, Vorwort, v.

devout Christian meditation upon the meaning of that life, and the more common would be the occurrence of expressions coloured in this way. The Gospels themselves tell us how little even the chiefest Apostles understood the real bearings of their Master's teaching, or realised all that He was to them or to the world. Expressions which mark this consciousness will be more frequent in the later records. The same may be said also of phrases which seem designed to accommodate the message to the circumstances of particular classes of hearers, or which betray a certain amount of confusion or hesitation in the presence of slightly divergent traditions. The application of Old Testament prophecy and typology to the events recorded would also become a growing habit, and the earlier Gospels would probably contain less of it than the later. Moreover, as time went on, such applications would be made with greater skill, and earlier misquotations or mistaken allusions would be corrected.

Thus by 'secondary traits' is here meant expressions which betray the influence of the thoughts and conceptions of post-resurrection times, or are in some way inconsistent with the idea that they belong to the tradition as it was first put out. No doubt the number of these will vary according to our conception of the actual conditions of the Lord's earthly life.<sup>1</sup> To some

<sup>1</sup> *E.g.* Mark vi. 3, 'Is not this the carpenter?' The parallels have 'the carpenter's son' (Matt.), 'the son of Joseph' (Luke). Some would argue that Mark's is the original, as it preserves the fact of the

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every miracle would be a 'secondary trait.' It is hoped that the following list will commend itself to all except perhaps the most thorough-going believers in the doctrine of Verbal Inspiration.<sup>1</sup>

### SECONDARY TRAITS IN MARK.

Examples  
of second-  
ary traits  
in Mark.

i. 2. The ascription to Isaiah of the prophecy of Malachi iii. 1, cannot belong to the original tradition, nor yet the statement (ii. 26) that David ate the shewbread in the days of Abiathar the high priest, whereas 1 Sam. xxi. 1 informs us that Ahimelech was high priest at that time.

It is very doubtful whether at the time the tradition was first formed τὸ εὐαγγέλιον was used absolutely for the message of salvation. We find it so used i. 15, xiii. 10.

iii. 9. Our Lord obtains from the disciples a boat to wait on Him. This reads very like an anticipation by the writer of the situation under which the series of Parables was delivered.

iii. 16. In narrating the appointment of the Twelve, Mark curiously omits to designate Simon Peter as one of them, substituting the fact that our Lord bestowed on him the name of Peter.

Virgin Birth; others that the men of Nazareth would be ignorant of this fact, and therefore Mark's expression is a later correction of what they really said.

<sup>1</sup> Schmiedel, *Encycl. Bib.*, Gospels, § 119, gives the following, to my mind doubtful, instances of Mark's secondary traits, iv. 21, 22; ix. 12; x. 42; xi. 25; xii. 24; xiv. 30, 62.

iii. 28. All sins and blasphemies are to be forgiven to the sons of men except blasphemies against the Holy Ghost. In the Synoptic parallels, Matt. xii. 32, Luke xii. 10, speaking against the Son of Man is enumerated among sins to be forgiven. A later tradition would be more likely to omit than to insert this.

iii. 30 reads like an editorial explanation, rather than part of the original tradition.

v. 19. It is scarcely conceivable that our Lord in speaking to the restored demoniac called Himself 'The Lord' (ὁ Κύριος). Mark does not represent the disciples as giving Him this title. It belongs to a later consciousness of the dignity of His Person, and when occurring in the other Synoptics is a secondary trait. If ὁ Κύριος is here used as a title of the Divine Father, the expression is unique in our Lord's mouth.

vi. 52. 'They understood not about the loaves.' This comment on the miracle of the stilling of the tempest is scarcely obvious enough to belong to the tradition in its earliest and simplest form.

vii. 3, 4. The explanation about Jewish purificatory rites is surely editorial. The same remark applies to vii. 19, *Καθαρίζων πάντα τὰ βρώματα*.

vii. 27. 'Let the children first be fed.' This looks like an insertion, probably in the first instance a comment, in deference to Gentile susceptibilities.

ix. 35 reads very like a conflation. Our Lord had been speaking to the disciples before. Now we have a new beginning, 'He sat down and called the disciples,'

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and gave utterance to a general principle. Then He drew the lesson of humility from the example of a little child. In the parallels Matt. xviii. 1, 2, Luke ix. 46, 47, we have nothing corresponding to Mark ix. 35.

x. 12. The case of the woman divorcing her husband looks as if it were first drawn as an inference in teaching Gentile audiences, and thence made its way into the text of our Lord's discourse.

x. 19. The parallel passage of Luke (xviii. 20) gives an order of commandments much more divergent from that of the decalogue than that of Mark and Matthew. It is easier to imagine that later tradition arranged rather than disarranged these precepts.

xiii. 24-27. The introduction to this passage, 'But in those days, after that tribulation,' suggests conflation. If this be admitted, it greatly simplifies the exegesis of the eschatological discourse in Mark, which, as it now stands there, and still more as it is reproduced by the other Synoptics, becomes by this explanation a witness to the confident expectation of an imminent Parousia in the early Church, rather than a designed 'fore-shortening of the perspective' by our Lord.

xiv. 4. Mark relates how 'some had indignation among themselves' at the waste of the ointment. Matt. xxvi. 8 defines these as the disciples. The last to be written, John xii. 4, names Judas Iscariot. There is a progressive distinctness in the charge as time goes on. The truth gradually comes out.

xiv. 62. Mark's rendering of our Lord's answer to the

high priest looks like an interpretative simplification of Matt. xxvi. 64,  $\Sigma\upsilon\ \epsilon\iota\pi\alpha\varsigma$ .

Over against these seventeen secondary traits occurring in Mark we may set the following equally clear instances from parallel passages in the other Synoptics:—

Matt. iii. 3, Isaiah's prophecy thrown into the text of the Baptist's discourse. iii. 17, 'This is my beloved Son,' confused with the voice at the Transfiguration. iv. 2, the Temptation after, not during, the forty days fast. viii. 16, our Lord healed not many, as in Mark, but all the sick. viii. 2, 25; xvii. 15; xx 31, 33, our Lord addressed as  $\text{Κύριε}$ . xii. 10, His opponents asked, not as Mark watched, whether our Lord would heal on the Sabbath day. xiii. 36, after reproducing Mark's termination of the series of parables, Matthew adds a fresh series with a fresh termination (Matt. xiii. 44-52). viii. 28, the identification of Gerasa with Khersa<sup>1</sup> overlooking the Lake, reduces Matthew's 'country of the Gadarenes' to a secondary trait. viii. 28, two possessed of devils, instead of one with a 'legion' of evil spirits. viii. 30, the herd represented as 'far off' in deference to Jewish scruples. ix. 18, the daughter of Jairus represented as dead from the first, instead of dying as our Lord was on the way to heal her. ix. 22, the woman with the issue not healed till our Lord spoke to her. ix. 25, the crowd cast out of the inner

Examples  
of second-  
ary traits in  
Matthew.

<sup>1</sup> Adam Smith, *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, p. 458; Sanday, *Sacred Sites of the Gospels*, pp. 25-29.

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room where the dead lay. x. 9-10, the disciples forbidden to take with them either shoes or staff. In Mark these are permitted, while other things are forbidden. xiv. 5, Herod is said to fear the people; in Mark it is John whom he fears. xiv. 21, five thousand men besides women and children. Matthew draws the inference from the use of the Greek *ἄνδρες*=males, that women and children were present too. So also in xv. 38. xv. 4, 'God said'; in Mark, 'Moses said,' cf. xxii. 31. xv. 19, in Mark the list of evils proceeding from the heart is given without order; in Matthew the order of the decalogue is followed. xv. 28, the longer and more formal address to the Canaanitish woman found in Matthew sounds later than that in Mark. xvi. 4, as compared with Mark's expression the words, 'An evil generation seeketh after a sign,' sound secondary. xvi. 11-12, in Mark the command to beware of the leaven of the Pharisees is left unexplained; in Matthew it is said to be their teaching. xvi. 16, Mark, 'Thou art the Christ'; Matthew adds, 'the Son of the living God.' xvi. 27, to the prediction of the 'Parousia' Matthew adds, 'and then shall He reward every man according to his work.' xvii. 13, the predicted Elias is stated to be John the Baptist. xvii. 20, a manifest conflation. xviii. 1, the disciples ask our Lord which is the greatest; in Mark He asks them what they have been disputing about. xviii. 8, 'If thy hand or thy foot offend thee,' etc.; in Mark each member has a verse to itself. xix. 3-12, the question of the Pharisees whether



divorce was lawful, *κατὰ πᾶσαν αἰτίαν*, and the permission to divorce, *ἐπὶ πορνείᾳ*, both read like secondary traits. xix. 16-18, the question of the rich young man and our Lord's reply, as in Matthew, are secondary. This is shown by the change to the masc., *εἷς ἐστὶν ὁ ἀγαθός*, from the neut. *τί με ἐρωτᾷς περὶ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ*. xix. 29, *πολλαπλασίονα* substituted for Mark's more emphatic *ἐκατονταπλασίονα*. xx. 23, Mark, *ἀλλ' οἷς ἡτοίμασται*; Matthew adds *ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός μου*. xx. 30, two blind men healed at Jericho. xxi. 2, 7, our Lord sends for and rides both ass and colt. xxi. 3, the promise that our Lord will return the borrowed colt is in Matthew transformed into a prophecy that the owner would send ass and colt to Him. xxii. 18, Mark says Jesus knew the hypocrisy of his tempters. Matthew represents Him as calling them hypocrites. xxvii. 54, the way the 'centurion and they that were with him' are mentioned in Matthew has a secondary sound.

Luke iii. 16, cf. Matt. iii. 11. Luke iii. 21, our Lord was praying when the heavens opened, cf. ix. 28. iv. 35, addition of *μηδὲν βλάβαν αὐτόν*. iv. 40, all in Capernaum who had sick brought them to Jesus. iv. 42, the crowds—not as Mark, Simon Peter—sought out our Lord. v. 12, xviii. 41, use of *Κύριε*. v. 20, *ἄνθρωπε* for *τέκνον*. v. 29, Levi 'made a great feast in his own house.' v. 30, 'Why do ye eat and drink?' Mark, 'Why does he,' name not specified. v. 32, addition of *εἷς μετάνοιαν*. v. 37, wine poured out, bottles perish; in Mark, wine and bottle both 'perish.' viii. 30,

Secondary  
traits in  
Luke.

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explanation 'for many devils had entered into him.' viii. 37, 'For they were taken with great fear.' viii. 51, the Lord's entrance into the house is confused with His further entrance into the inner room. ix. 3, x. 4, cf. Matt. x. 9, 10. Luke ix. 6, the anointing of the sick is not mentioned.<sup>1</sup> ix. 8, our Lord is said to be 'one of the ancient prophets,' not as Mark, 'a prophet as one of the ancients.' ix. 10, our Lord and His disciples go 'to a city called Bethsaida'; a little lower this is called 'a desert place.' xi. 29, cf. on Matt. xvi. 4. Luke xii. 1, 'The leaven of the Pharisees, which is hypocrisy.' Cf. on Matt. xvi. 11-12. ix. 25, 'Lose himself,' instead of Mark's expression 'lose his life' (*ψυχή*). ix. 45, the saying was hid from them; so also xviii. 34. xviii. 30, cf. on Matt. xix. 26. Luke xx. 27, absolute use of *εὐαγγελιζόμενος*. xx. 20, *ἐγκαθέτους ὑποκρινόμενους εἰαυτοὺς δικαίους εἶναι*. xx. 26, the effect of our Lord's answer upon his tempters. xx. 36, the description of the angelic condition. xxi. 5, description of the Temple as 'adorned with goodly stones and offerings'; in Mark the allusion is to the solid construction of the Precinct walls. xxi. 10, Mark's reference to the 'abomination of desolation' explained as 'Jerusalem compassed about with armies.' xxii. 54, the two meetings of the ecclesiastical heads of the people condensed

<sup>1</sup> That this is an addition to Mark vi. 13, made under the influence of prevailing Church custom and therefore a 'secondary trait' in that Gospel, appears to me improbable because of the tendency observable in the first and third Gospels of omitting the use of means in the working of miracles where the second Gospel inserts it.

into one. xxiii. 11, Herod's treatment of our Lord confused with that of Pilate's Roman soldiers. xxiv. 4, two angels in the empty tomb.

As regards the order of incidents narrated in the Synoptic Gospels, if we divide the narrative common to Mark with one or both the other Synoptics into 91 sections, we shall find that Matthew and Mark in 80, Luke and Mark in 77 sections, follow the same general order. Where Matthew and Mark disagree in order, the displaced incidents show a tendency to observe the same order with regard to each other; whereas where Mark and Luke part company, the position of such portions relatively to each other is entirely upset. If this be so, it is more probable that Matthew and Luke made the alterations each in his own way, than that Mark followed one system in differing from Matthew, and another in differing from Luke. Moreover, there are only two sections in which the order followed by Mark is different from both the other Synoptics, and the other Synoptics in these two cases disagree with each other. That is to say, Matthew's order is peculiar in eleven cases, Luke's in fourteen, Mark's in two. This certainly seems a strong proof that Mark's is the original order.

An examination of these variations tends to establish this conclusion. A characteristic feature in the first Gospel is the stress laid in the earlier portion on the training of the Twelve. It bears the aspect of a subject brought into prominence and worked out

As regards  
order of  
incidents  
in the  
Synoptics.  
Proofs that  
Mark's  
is the  
original.

Motives for  
change of  
order in  
Matthew.  
The train-  
ing of the  
Twelve.

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without regard to strict chronological sequence. Naturally, the circumstances connected with the Nativity of our Lord, His Baptism and Temptation, come first. Then, after a short notice of His preaching in Galilee, comes the call of the first four disciples (iv. 18-22). The resumption of the Galilean tour is indicated in a few words (iv. 23-25), and then we have the Sermon on the Mount addressed to His disciples, but in the hearing of a larger audience. The effect of the sermon is immediately confirmed at the mountain's foot by the healing of a leper (viii. 1-4), the first instance of a dislocation of order. The miracle is introduced by a note of strict chronological sequence, whereas in Mark it is the first incident where order of time is not necessarily implied. Matthew must here be supposed to rest on an oral tradition not accessible to Mark. Mark, therefore, did not copy the incident from Matthew.

What Matthew did with the sections thrown out of order from this motive.

The next dislocation of order is a series of two events which hang closely together in all the records, viz. the stilling of the tempest, and the incident of the Gadarene (Gerasene) demoniacs (demoniac), Matt. viii. 23-34. Now it is noteworthy that not only these two, but six other sections are displaced, apparently in consequence of Matthew's desire to relate consecutively the choice of the Twelve and their mission to preach and to heal diseases (Matt. ix. 35-x. 42 = Mark iii. 7-19, vi. 7-13). Having for this purpose dislocated the arrangement of these eight sections,

Matthew proceeds to insert them in what seems to him suitable contexts. Three he places before the mission of the Twelve, and five after it. In the former category come the stilling of the tempest, the events in the Gadarene (Gerasene) coasts, and the interwoven miracles of the raising of Jairus's daughter and the healing of the woman with the issue of blood. This last section (ix. 18-26) seems to give the clue to this part of the arrangement, for the first Gospel connects it in the closest sequence of time with the call of Matthew (Levi) and the question about fasting (Matt. ix. 9-17). Mark, on the other hand, places the raising of Jairus's daughter at a subsequent visit to Capernaum—the third he mentions—this third visit, subsequent to the call of Levi, being immediately preceded by the stilling of the tempest, and the events on the Gerasene (Gadarene) coast. To treat a strict chronological sequence such as Matthew's *ταῦτα αὐτοῦ λαλοῦντος* as a mere literary artifice is surely very arbitrary criticism. We must therefore conclude that here again Matthew had independent knowledge that the raising of Jairus's daughter belonged to Mark's second visit to Capernaum. He therefore rejects the third visit, and prefaces the second with the stilling of the tempest and the events near Gadara (Gerasa). Between the raising of Jairus's daughter and the appointment of the Twelve occur in Mark two incidents which he attaches to a series illustrative of our Lord's teaching on the observance of the Sabbath, viz. the defence of the disciples

Matthew  
had inde-  
pendent  
knowledge  
of raising  
of Jairus's  
daughter.

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Two sections transferred in the first Gospel to the series connected with Pharisaic opposition.

for plucking and eating corn on the Sabbath day (Mark ii. 23-28), and the healing of the man with the withered hand (Mark iii. 1-6). To Matthew, however, the interest of these centres in the light they shed on the opposition of the Pharisees to our Lord's teaching. He therefore places them at the head of a series of incidents bearing on this point (xii. 1-50), two of which, viz. the ascription of the power of Beelzebub to our Lord, and the attempt of His mother and brethren to speak with Him, falling in Mark after the choice of the Twelve, suggest to Matthew the postponement of the whole series till after the mission which, as we have seen, he connects immediately with the choice of the Apostles. Thus the whole of the disarrangement of this part of the narrative seems to spring from three motives in the mind of the writer of the first Gospel: (1) to emphasise the training of the Twelve by placing together their choice and their mission; (2) to place the raising of Jairus's daughter in what he believed to be its true chronological sequence; (3) to mass together incidents of Pharisaic opposition to our Lord. If Matthew's be taken as the original order, no such intelligible account can be given of Mark's motives in altering it.

The Barren Fig-tree.

From this point onwards there is only one alteration of order, and here it is impossible to regard Matthew's as the original. In the account of the incident of the Barren Fig-tree the first Gospel (xxi. 17-22) makes the tree visibly wither at once. In Mark our Lord and

His disciples go on to a busy day at Jerusalem. Only on their returning next day by the same road do they find that the words to the deceptive tree have taken effect (Mark xi. 12-14, 19-26). Plainly Matthew has set side by side cause and visible effect in order at once to carry the subject through to its close. This clear instance of his method of narration must be allowed due weight in judging of other cases of discrepancy in the order of events, and the conclusion to which we seem forced is that Mark's is the original order.

The same result will follow, although not with the same distinctness, when we consider the discrepancies of order as between the second and third Gospels. Here we do not find the dislocation of whole blocks of narrative, so to speak, but of single incidents, in the displacement of which no sort of regard is paid to the order in which they originally stood to each other. Luke (iv. 16-30) places our Lord's visit to Nazareth immediately after the narrative of the Temptation. This is certainly not in chronological sequence, for it speaks of wonderful works done in Capernaum (v. 23), whereas the record of these works comes at a later stage. Luke probably thus arranges his narrative in order to contrast our Lord's rejection at Nazareth with His reception at Capernaum. To sharpen the contrast he places the two in juxtaposition, postponing the call of the first disciples to the sojourn in Capernaum. He follows a different tradition from that of the second Gospel in his account both of the

Order in  
third  
Gospel.

The visit to  
Nazareth,  
and call of  
first  
disciples.



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visit to Nazareth and of the call of the first disciples. From a chronological point of view Mark's order approves itself as the earlier. Luke represents our Lord as accepting the hospitality of St. Peter before the relation of Master to disciple had been established. In Mark He first calls the disciple and then accompanies him to his house. In the second Gospel we seem to find chronological, in the third topical, order. Topical order is the more artificial, and probably therefore the later system of arrangement.

Other  
instances.

In Mark iii. 7-12 a general description of mighty works wrought on the shores of the lake precedes, in Luke follows, the choice of the Twelve. Luke's arrangement results in the provision of a large concourse to listen to what in the third Gospel corresponds to Matthew's Sermon on the Mount. It bears the aspect of an alteration of the order preserved in Mark in order to make Mark's words subserve a special purpose in Luke.

In Luke vii. 36-50 occurs a narrative of the anointing of our Lord by a sinful woman. Although some confusion between the two accounts may be suspected, it is impossible to suppose that the incident is the same as the anointing of our Lord at Bethany given by Mark (xiv. 3-9). Either Evangelist may have designedly omitted one of these incidents on account of its similarity to the other, but such proceeding is more characteristic of Luke than of Mark.

In Mark the attempt of the Lord's mother and

brethren to speak with Him precedes, in Luke follows, the great series of parables (Mark iv. 1-34; Luke viii. 4-18). According to the tradition followed in the second Gospel these parables were spoken from a boat, thus providing no place for such an incident at the close of the Saviour's address. In this Gospel it occurs after the charge brought against our Lord of casting out devils through Beelzebub, which Luke relates at a much later stage of his narrative and in a way which suggests that he did not derive it from Mark. Either Mark altered the order in consequence of the circumstances under which he represents the parables as delivered, or else Luke found the attempt of the Lord's mother as an isolated fragment in his copy of Mark's Gospel and transferred it to what seemed to him the nearest suitable context.

The enunciation of the 'first commandment of all' is intimately connected in Luke with the parable of the Good Samaritan (x. 25-37). This accounts for its omission at the point where it occurs in the other two Synoptics (Matt. xxii. 34-40; Mark xii. 28-34). It is not probable that Mark knew Luke's arrangement, for we can scarcely imagine him to have designedly omitted the parable from his Gospel. His arrangement, however, may have been known to Luke.

The charge that our Lord cast out devils through Beelzebub presents a difficult problem in literary criticism. There is not a single phrase or detail common to Mark and Luke which is not also found in

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Matthew. In order of incidents Matthew's order is much closer to that of Mark, in language and details of the story to Luke. If, therefore, Matthew derived it from Mark, he also had access to the source from which it came to Luke. The late stage at which it appears in Luke makes it improbable that he derived it from Matthew, and that, combined with the greater fulness of the narrative as recorded in the third Gospel, renders it impossible that he derived it from Mark, or Mark from him.<sup>1</sup>

The request for a sign, and our Lord's reference to that of Jonah, appear in the third Gospel in intimate connection with matter not contained in the second. The Marcan parallel comes in the middle of the 'great omission.' It is highly improbable, therefore, either that Mark derived it from Luke, or *vice versa*.

The strife which of the Twelve was to be accounted the greatest appears in the third Gospel (Luke xxii. 24-27) among the incidents of the Last Supper. In John xiii. 3-17 our Lord conveys the same lesson by washing the disciples' feet. If some manifestation of jealousy among them preceded our Saviour's act it is conceivable that the words spoken by Him on an earlier occasion have been transferred by oral tradition

<sup>1</sup> Wernle, *Syn. Frage*, pp. 68, 69, maintains that both Luke and Matthew had access to two sources, Mark and another. Luke, however, bases his account on the other source, using Mark as subsidiary; Matthew uses both sources equally. I doubt whether Luke had access to the Marcan source. See below, pp. 46, 47.

to this later occasion, where they come in so appropriately. Then Luke, following the non-Marcian tradition, avoids *more suo* a doublet by omitting the words at the earlier stage of the narrative.

Mark, however, may have avoided a doublet by omitting the later repetition of the words. It may well be doubted, however, whether any of the Evangelists would have omitted so significant a detail in the account of the Last Supper.

It is but a small difference of arrangement that Luke places the Saviour's prediction of St. Peter's denial of Him before, Mark during, the walk to Gethsemane. The Evangelists follow different traditions as to the terms in which the warning to St. Peter was conveyed. Luke appears to combine Mark's account with his own. It is difficult to believe that Mark had seen but omits the words recorded by Luke.

Luke records one meeting only of the Sanhedrim at the high priest's house, Mark two. In Mark St. Peter's denial is represented as going on while the first meeting and trial of our Lord is taking place, and the insults offered the Saviour conclude the scene; a second meeting being summoned at dawn to deliver the prisoner to Pontius Pilate. In Luke, St. Peter's denial follows immediately his arrival at the high priest's palace, and the insults succeed the denial. Then comes the meeting and the examination of the prisoner. Mark here betrays a detailed knowledge of the course of events wanting in Luke. Either Luke condensed Mark's

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account, or Mark acquired later information which enabled him to correct Luke's account. The former explanation seems the more probable.

Luke xxiii. 33 mentions the crucifixion of the thieves before the parting of the garments, and (xxiii. 35) the mocking of the rulers before the words of the superscription; and, on the other hand, the offering of the drugged potion (xxiii. 36, 37) between the mocking and the superscription, in these respects differing from the order of Mark. Luke also mentions the rending of the veil before the last cry from the Cross (xxiii. 45, 46), where Mark's order is more natural.

Conclusion  
as regards  
Luke's  
order.

Of these sixteen variations of order, half the number suggest an alteration made by Luke from the original order of Mark; from the other half no conclusion can be drawn. The strong probability is therefore that Luke used Mark's Gospel, or at any rate parts of it, and that Mark did not use Luke's.

As regards  
style: pecu-  
liarities of  
Marcan  
style.

The next point to be considered is that of style. Mark is full of harsh, yet often vivid and impressive peculiarities, *e.g.* ἐπιράπτει (ii. 21) where the others have ἐπιβάλλει (Matt. ix. 16; Luke v. 36).<sup>1</sup> In grammatical construction we find occasional anacolutha, and solecisms which do not appear in the other Synoptics, *e.g.* iv. 31, 32, μικρότερον ὂν . . . καὶ ὅταν σπαρῇ, κ.τ.λ.; vi. 9, ὑποδεδεμένους.<sup>2</sup> Unusual expressions are very

<sup>1</sup> Other instances, i. 16, 34, 38; ii. 4; iii. 11; v. 23, 38; vi. 21, 27, 39, 40; vii. 2, 25, 37; ix. 6, 8, 15, 18; x. 25; xi. 4, 8, 19; xii. 4, 40; xiii. 11, 19, 35; xiv. 5, 31, 40, 44, 68; xv. 7, 23, 29; xvi. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Other instances, vii. 19; xiii. 40; xiv. 19.

frequent, *e.g.* vi. 35, ὥρας πολλῆς γενομένης.<sup>1</sup> A frequent characteristic is the omission of connecting particles and of the copula, *e.g.* ii. 10, λέγει τῷ παραλυτικῷ; Matt. ix. 6, τότε λέγει, κ.τ.λ.; ix. 36, τίς μείζων.<sup>2</sup> Beside the other Synoptics the language of Mark appears emphatic and almost exaggerated, *e.g.* Mark i. 10, σχιζομένους; Matt. iii. 16, ἠνεώχθησαν; Luke iii. 21, ἀνεώχθηναι.<sup>3</sup>

It is almost impossible to account for these peculiarities of style on the supposition that Mark was the borrower, to imagine him habitually substituting strange and sometimes uncouth words for words well known, or violating the ordinary rules of grammar when he had before him the same ideas clothed in simpler and smoother Greek, or changing easily intelligible phrases into unusual or harsh ones, or deliberately choosing to leave out the connecting particles which he found in his copy. The story is obviously in an earlier stage of development in Mark, as far as the manner of telling it goes. Matthew and Luke may much more reasonably be supposed to have polished Mark's record, than Mark to have altered the style of their's into something rougher and homelier.

Mark's  
the earlier  
style.

<sup>1</sup> Other instances, i. 23; ii. 12, 23, 27, 30; iii. 27, 30-32; iv. 14, 15, 21, 22, 41; v. 23; vi. 7, 10, 12; viii. 12, 16; ix. 12, 18, 41; x. 30; xi. 13, 32; xii. 26, 38; xiii. 16; xiv. 10, 49, 54, 65.

<sup>2</sup> Other instances, iii. 27; iv. 14; vii. 15, 20; xii. 6, 9, 10, 20, 23, 29, 31; xiii. 6, 7, 8, 9, 15, 21, 23, 33; xiv. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Other instances, i. 12, 36, 43; iii. 10; iv. 1; vii. 33, 37; ix. 2, 3, 6, 8, 15, 18; x. 25; xi. 4, 8; xiii. 11, 35; xiv. 5, 40, 44, 68; xv. 7, 23, 29; xvi. 4.

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Assuming the language of the second Gospel to belong to an earlier stage of evangelistic writing than that of the other two Synoptics, additional characteristics of the second Gospel are found to enhance the impression of priority which it already conveys.

Additional  
indications  
of priority  
of Mark.

Qualifications and distinctions are introduced into what appears in the other Synoptics in an absolute form.

iv. 10. Others besides the Twelve ask our Lord the meaning of His parables, whereas the other Synoptists represent the disciples only as doing so. iv. 32. The size of the mustard-plant is much more accurately described than in the other two Gospels. vi. 8, 9. Our Lord prescribes a staff and sandals to His disciples, but forbids the food, the scrip, the money in the purse. Elsewhere he is represented as forbidding all these articles. vi. 13. The disciples used means in working their miracles of healing. The anointing with oil is omitted in other accounts of this mission. viii. 34. Our Lord addresses the crowd as well as the disciples. Matthew xvi. 24 makes the disciples alone the recipients of His prophecy; Luke says indiscriminately *ἔλεγεν δὲ πρὸς πάντας*. x. 3-5. The arrangement of question and answer impresses itself as the original account in contrast with Matthew's rendering.

We have, moreover, broadcast throughout Mark vivid touches of description, minute records of details, and a life and vigour of narration which is very noticeable as compared with the style of the other Synoptists: *e.g.* i. 13. Our Lord was 'with the wild beasts' in the



wilderness. iii. 5. He looked round the congregation in the synagogue 'with anger.' iv. 33. He was asleep in the stern of the ship 'upon a pillow.'<sup>1</sup>

Mark's frequent use of proper names as compared with that of the others is also remarkable. Dr. Schmiedel (*Encycl. Bibl.*) remarks that these vivid touches and the insertion of proper names might be equally characteristic of a late writing masquerading as an early one, but united with the roughness of the style adds to the impression that in Mark we have the earliest of our written Gospels.

The improbability of the hypothesis that Mark borrowed from Matthew and Luke has been further demonstrated by Rushbrooke (*Synopticon*, Introd. vi.-x.), who shows that in two test passages, Mark xii. 1-11, and ii. 13-17, in the second Gospel is incorporated every point, and with the most trifling exceptions, every word common to Matthew and Luke. He points out that 'to embody the whole of even one document in a narrative of one's own without copying it verbatim, and to do this in a free and natural manner, requires no little care. But to take two documents, to put them side by side, to analyse their common matter, and then to write a narrative graphic,

<sup>1</sup> Among other instances, i. 4, 20, 27; ii. 2-4, 15, 27; iii. 9, 17, 20, 21, 32, 34; iv. 1, 3, 8, 13, 34, 36, 37, 39, 40; v. 7, 19, 20, 21, 23, 32, 34, 36, 38, 39, 40, 42; vi. 2, 3, 7, 13, 31, 33, 37-40, 48, 55, 56; vii. 11, 13, 17, 24, 25, 33, 34; viii. 14; ix. 8, 14, 16, 20-25, 27, 28, 36; x. 1, 14, 16, 21, 22, 23, 24, 30, 50; xi. 11, 13, 16, 20, 21, 25, 27, 32, 34; xii. 41; xiv. 25, 36, 40, 50, 51, 59, 60, 67, 68, 69, 72; xv. 1, 7, 8, 15, 25, 32, 39, 44, 45; xvi. 4, 5, 7, 8.

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abrupt, and in all respects the opposite of artificial, which shall contain every word and phrase common to both—this would be a *tour de force* even for a skilful literary forger of these days, and may be dismissed as an impossibility for the writer of the second Gospel.’<sup>1</sup>

Conclusion.  
The second  
Gospel is  
closest to  
the earliest  
form in  
which the  
Synoptic  
tradition  
appeared  
in writing.

Our examination of the Synoptic records up to this point, therefore, leads us to the conclusion that Mark’s Gospel represents most closely the earliest form in which the Synoptic tradition appeared in writing, and if we are obliged to assume that any of the existing Synoptic records was a source used by the others, it must be the second of our Canonical Gospels.

On this assumption we proceed to examine the character of the use of the second Gospel by the writers of the first and third respectively.

<sup>1</sup> Compare also Hastings’ *D. B.*, vol. ii., Art. ‘Gospels,’ p. 238, sect. 3.

## III

THE WRITERS OF THE FIRST AND THIRD GOSPELS USED  
IMPERFECT COPIES OF THE SECOND

It is evident that in the Synoptic Gospels we find a meeting-place of several traditions. There is the triple tradition, which is the special subject of our inquiry: *i.e.* the matter common to all three Gospels, or, at any rate, lying behind the compilation of all three. In addition to this there is the double tradition, the matter apparently unknown to Mark which finds a place in the records of Matthew and of Luke. There are also single traditions, sources of narratives and discourses which appear in one Synoptic record only, and how many of these there are none can say. We have found that if it can be supposed that any one of the Synoptic Gospels was used by the other two, that Gospel is the second. The question arises, however, whether the second Gospel is not a fragment of a larger work embedded in the first and third. In other words, can any part of the triple tradition, the tradition which came before all the Synoptic writers, be found outside of our Canonical Mark? Is a certain amount of the so-called double tradition really of

Is the second Gospel a fragment of a larger work embodied in the other two?

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the same character and authorship as our second Gospel?

No narratives of the dual tradition formed part of an original Mark.

Argument from matter.

The Rev. Mgr. Barnes<sup>1</sup> propounds the view that the narrative portions common to the first and third Gospels, together with one or two isolated pieces of discourse, belong to the first edition of Mark's Gospel, published in Jerusalem, while the rest of the 'double tradition' was derived from the *λόγια κυριακά*,<sup>2</sup> originally written in Hebrew by St. Matthew. The latter part of this theory may be true, but the discussion of it is foreign to our present purpose. The ascription, however, of the narratives of the 'double tradition' to Mark is not likely to be correct. They refer principally, indeed, as does the greater part of the second Gospel, to the Galilean ministry of our Lord, but this is also true of the greater part of the discourse contained in the 'double tradition.' Some of them, *e.g.* the expansion of the preaching of the Baptist, the details of the Temptation, the mission of the disciples of St. John the Baptist, and the upbraiding of Chorazin, Bethsaida, and Capernaum, contain matter different in character to anything occurring in the second Gospel. The expansion of the narrative in connection with the charge that our Lord cast out devils by Beelzebub, and the story of the healing of the centurion's servant,

<sup>1</sup> *Journ. Theol. Studies*, vol. vi. No. 22.

<sup>2</sup> Conclusive reasons have yet to be found why the *λόγια κυριακά* mentioned by Papias must have contained narrative as well as discourse. The Oxyrhyncus Fragments suggest an opposite view. Cf. Wernle, *Syn. Frage*, p. 117.

contain indications of the use by one or both the Evangelists of more than one source; at the same time it would be impossible so to separate the sources as to pronounce whether either was decidedly Marcan in character.

More weighty as against the Marcan origin of these narratives are the indications of vocabulary. If we take the expressions common to Matthew and Luke in these sections, we find that only three per cent. are words more frequently used by Mark in proportion to his Gospel than by the other Synoptists.<sup>1</sup> If we cut off from the narrative common to the three an equal amount of matter, the proportion of words predominantly Marcan rises to six per cent.<sup>2</sup> That is to say, as regards vocabulary there are twice as many indications of dependence on Mark in those portions indisputably Marcan than where the existence of a Marcan original is a mere conjecture. The probabilities,

Argument  
from style.

<sup>1</sup> The Marcan words in the narratives of the double tradition are *ἀγορά* (1 time used), *αἶρειν* (1), *ἀκάθαρτος* (1), *ἀκολουθεῖν* (3), *ἀλλά* (1), *ἀναβλέπειν* (1), *ἀποστέλλειν* (1), *δύνασθαι* (1), *δώδεκα* (1), *ἐκπορεύεσθαι* (1), *ἔπτα* (1), *ἔρημος* (1), *ἐσθλὲν* (1), *ἔχειν* (4), *καθίζειν* (1), *κατακρίνειν* (2), *κάτω* (1), *ὄπον* (1), *περιπατεῖν* (1), *πνεῦμα* (general use 2), *ρίζα* (1), *χεῖρ* (1).

<sup>2</sup> The Marcan words reproduced in the passages of the first and third Gospels parallel to Mark i. 1—vi. 11, are *ἀγαπητός* (1 time), *ἄλιεύς* (1), *ἀλλά* (2), *βαπτίζειν* (6), *βλασφημεῖν* (1), *βλασφημία* (1), *διδάσκειν* (2), *διδαχὴ* (1), *δύνασθαι* (2), *δώδεκα* (3), *ἐκπλήσσειν* (1), *ἐκπορεύεσθαι* (1), *ἔρημος* (2), *ἐσθλὲν* (2), *εὐαγγέλιον* (1), *ἔχειν* (8), *καθεύδειν* (1), *καινός* (1), *καρποφορεῖν* (1), *κηρύσσειν* (1), *κλῖνη* (1), *κράζειν* (1), *κρατεῖν* (1), *μερίζειν* (1), *μήδεις* (1), *ξηραίνειν* (1), *παρακαλεῖν* (1), *παραλυτικός* (2), *πέραν* (1), *περιπατεῖν* (1), *πλοῖον* (2), *στάχυς* (1), *χεῖρ* (2), *χοῖρος* (2).

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therefore, are against our present Mark being an abbreviation from a larger Marcan document, from which the other Synoptists drew.<sup>1</sup> This does not apply to the hypothesis of a version of Mark's Gospel supplemented from other sources before being used by Matthew and Luke. That possibility, however, must be left for our later consideration.

Was the whole of our Mark before the other Synoptists' eyes?

Was then the whole of our second Gospel, or were only parts of it, before the writers of the first and third?

Luke aimed at writing a full account of our Lord's life.

The probability in the case of the writer of the third Gospel is that he intended to give a full account of what he certainly knew of the earthly life of our Lord. In his preface he tells us of his intention to certify a person named Theophilus of the truth of what had been taught him as a catechumen. The matters of which he writes are further described as having been 'fulfilled' in the Christian Society, and Luke is going to set them forth in order, having traced them up with accuracy from the beginning. If a man writing with such an aim omitted any striking word or work of the subject of his memoir, it must have been either because he was not satisfied of the truth of it, or else because it was not required to complete the portraiture, something else of the same character taking its place. Several impressive narratives recorded in the second Gospel are omitted in the third, although their insertion

<sup>1</sup> Except that the Mark they used may have contained the missing conclusion.

would obviously have added to the completeness of the delineation.<sup>1</sup> Unless, therefore, we are prepared to assert that the writer knew of them, but disbelieved in them, or was dissatisfied with the authority on which they came to him, we must recognise that their omission affords strong presumption that he was ignorant of them.

Therefore did not know the sections of Mark he omits.

The aim of the first Gospel is not explicitly set forth by the writer, but when we find him recording events so similar as to suggest that they are different versions of one and the same incident,<sup>2</sup> and omitting narratives which are similar to nothing else contained in the book,<sup>3</sup> the same dilemma confronts us again: either the writer knew, but did not trust, the narratives from the second Gospel, which he omitted, or else he did not find them among the sources of his information. When we consider the character of the omissions, and the obvious deference which the writers generally pay to the second Gospel, we have no difficulty in choosing the latter alternative.

Matthew probably aimed at writing a full account of our Lord's life.

Therefore he too had an incomplete version of Mark's Gospel.

At the same time, it must be noticed that another way of accounting for these omissions is largely supported by scholars. They are said to be due to the ‘tendencies’ of the writers. That tendencies manifest themselves in the Synoptic Gospels need not be denied.

But these omissions are often said to be due to ‘tendencies.’

<sup>1</sup> The story of the Syrophenicean woman is a case in point. Dr. Wright (*Synopsis of the Gospels*, Introd., xvi.) shows how unsatisfactory is the theory of ‘tendencies’ to account for this omission.

<sup>2</sup> *E.g.* Matt. ix. 32-34, and xii. 22-32.

<sup>3</sup> *E.g.* the story of the widow's mite.



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But the tendencies do not show themselves over the whole of any Gospel.

Illustrated from the first Gospel.

The question remains, however, whether the tendencies are those of the writers of the sources used, or of the compilers of the complete Gospels. If the latter, we should expect them to operate over the whole of these Gospels. An Evangelist would hardly write under the influence of a 'tendency' at one time, and completely free himself from it at another.<sup>1</sup> There is no parallel passage in the first Gospel to Mark i. 23-28, in consequence, it is supposed, of many of the details recorded in Matt. viii. 28-34 presenting points of similarity, but the tendency to avoid the narration of similar incidents so far from characterising the first Gospel is conspicuously non-characteristic of it. The instance given above is in point, and still more the feeding of the five thousand and of the four thousand.<sup>2</sup> Was the rebuke addressed by our Lord to the disciples, recorded in Mark ix. 38-40, omitted from the first Gospel because it interrupts the course of His lesson on humility?<sup>3</sup> Why then does not the same tendency cause the omission of the story of the healing of the woman with the issue of blood? (Matt. ix. 20-26). The interruption of the flow of the story is not more abrupt in one case than in the other. If, however, it be omitted because the writer dissents

<sup>1</sup> Wernle, *Syn. Frage*, p. 113 f., supposes the compiler of the first Gospel to have had strong anti-Judaistic tendencies, but to have incorporated into his work—one must suppose in a fit of absence of mind—some Ebionistic logia. Why not an impartial chronicler using good authorities and leaving subsequent readers to grapple with inconsistencies which never struck him as such?

<sup>2</sup> Matt. xiv. 13-21, xv. 32-39.

<sup>3</sup> So Wernle, *Syn. Frage*, p. 126, § 6, but doubtfully.

from the large-hearted principle it inculcates, we are surprised to find an instance of large-heartedness almost as great in the story of the healing of the centurion's servant (Matt. viii. 10), and of the daughter of the Canaanitish woman (Matt. xv. 28). Perhaps the story of the widow's mite may have been omitted from the first Gospel by an oversight, the writer hurrying from one important discourse to another (chaps. xxiii. and xxiv.). Otherwise no tendency can account for its absence if it stood before him in his Marcan exemplar.

If we turn to the third Gospel, the attempt to account for omissions by the ascription of ‘tendencies’ breaks down in a similar way. The account of the Baptist's death, and of our Lord's words concerning him, spoken during the descent from the Mount of Transfiguration (Mark vi. 17-29, ix. 12, 13), are supposed to have been omitted from a desire to reduce the general estimate of the importance of the work of the great forerunner.<sup>1</sup> Yet in the third Gospel alone do we find any account of the wonders connected with the Baptist's birth, and the fullest record of his preaching. The ‘great omission’ (Mark vi. 45 to viii. 21) is generally ascribed to the supposition that some of the incidents there related would be of no interest to Gentile readers, while others are too similar to matters elsewhere recorded to be worth repeating.<sup>2</sup> Considered in

Illustrated  
from the  
third  
Gospel.

<sup>1</sup> So Schmiedel, *E. B.*, vol. ii. Gospels, § 4.

<sup>2</sup> So Wernle, p. 5, § 4.

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itself, the latter reason might hold good. The third Gospel does not contain so much repetition of similar matter as the other two. It by no means, however, neglects details which are mainly of Jewish interest, *e.g.* the discussion about casting out devils by the help of Beelzebub (Luke xi. 14-23), the remarks on levirate legislation (Luke xx. 27-39), the problem regarding the son of David (Luke xx. 40-44). Mark viii. 32, 33, and x. 35-40, find no parallel in the third Gospel, in consequence, we are told, of reluctance on the part of the writer to say anything to the discredit of St. Peter and the sons of Zebedee,<sup>1</sup> yet he does not pass over the story of St. Peter's denial of our Lord, and he it is who relates the rebuke administered to the sons of Zebedee in Samaria (Luke xxii. 31-34, 54-62; ix. 51-56).

It thus appears that the omissions from the first and third Gospels of matter contained in the second, are not accounted for by the ascription of 'tendencies' to the writers of those Gospels. It is much more probable that in general their omissions are due to their not having seen what they omitted in the sources before them. On the other hand, what the first Gospel omits is almost always found in the third, and *vice versa*. This can scarcely be accounted for except on the supposition that behind these two Gospels stands practically the whole of the matter contained in our second

The omissions of Marcan matter from the other Gospels due to the writers of these not having found it in their exemplars.

<sup>1</sup> So Hawkins, *Horæ Synopt.*, Pt. iii. A, § 1; Schmiedel, *Encycl. Bibl.*, Art. Gospels, iii. § 15; Wernle, *Syn. Frage*, p. 5, § 7, supposes that all interest in the sons of Zebedee had been lost by that time!

Gospel. Something very like our second Gospel, both in extent and in language, existed in written form, but from it imperfect transcripts were made, two of which were the sources of the triple tradition as found in the first and third Gospels respectively. The tendencies manifested are not those of the writers of these Gospels, but of the transcribers whose work they used.<sup>1</sup> The second Gospel lay before the writer of the first in a somewhat, before the writer of the third in a considerably, mutilated condition.<sup>2</sup> We shall now proceed to consider how these portions of the second Gospel were treated by those who embodied them in the first and third.

Nevertheless, behind the first and third Gospels combined stands practically the whole of the second. The writers of the other Gospels used each an imperfect copy of the second.

<sup>1</sup> Schmiedel (*Encycl. Bib.*, Gospels, i. 114), without drawing the conclusion in the text, directs attention to the partial character of the alleged manifestations of tendency. Of course a general tendency towards a Jewish or Gentile way of regarding our Lord's life is seen in Matthew and Luke respectively.

<sup>2</sup> See below, pp. 73-74.

## IV

THE FREE USE OF THE SECOND GOSPEL BY THE WRITERS  
OF THE FIRST AND THIRD

Marcan  
language  
reproduced  
in other  
connections  
in Matthew  
and Luke.

THERE are many indications that the dependence of the first and third Gospels upon the second is far from slavish. We have already dealt in another connection with the introduction by Matthew and Luke of 'secondary traits' into their work, of alterations of order, and difference of style.<sup>1</sup> The way in which they reproduced the language and ideas they found in Mark is very worthy of remark. It is evident that they so studied their copy that much of the language stuck in their memory, and was written down often in a different connection to that in which Mark used it.<sup>2</sup>

1. Mark i. 26, Luke iv. 33, the rescue of a man from

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 23-37.

<sup>2</sup> Hawkins (*Hor. Syn.*, Pt. II. § 2) says that the instances of words 'differently applied' are examples of the operation of oral tradition. But if a similar text to our second Gospel was before the other Synop-  
tists, one can hardly imagine that the words they 'apply differently' were all absent from this text but retained in the memory. Several of the instances given above I have taken from *Horæ Synopticæ*. Some I have rejected as probably due to tendency, e.g. Mark i. 45, cf. Luke v. 15.

the possession of an unclean spirit. In Mark the spirit leaves him *φωνῇ μεγάλῃ*, with a great cry. In Luke it is with a great cry that the man first addresses the Saviour.

2. Mark i. 37, *λεγόνσιν αὐτῷ ὅτι πάντες ζητοῦσί σε*. Luke v. 15, *οἱ ὄχλοι ἐπεζήτουν αὐτόν*. The speech of the disciples in the second Gospel becomes a mere statement of fact in the third.

3. Mark iii. 7, 8, Luke vi. 17. The description of the multitude which followed Jesus, and the enumeration of the places whence they came, is largely the same in both Gospels; but in Mark our Lord is retiring to the sea-shore; in Luke He is taking His position to preach the discourse generally identified with Matthew's 'Sermon on the Mount.'

4. Mark iv. 19, Luke viii. 18, *εἰσπορευόμεναι* in Mark has for its subject *ἐπιθυμιαί*, the lusts which stifle the seed sown. In Luke *πορευόμενοι*, occupying exactly the same position in the sentence, refers to the persons into whose hearts the seed is cast, and agrees with *οὔτοι*.

5. Mark v. 4, *καὶ οὐδεὶς ἴσχυεν αὐτὸν δαμάσαι*. Matt. viii. 28, *ὥστε μὴ ἰσχύειν τίνα παρελθεῖν*. In Mark *ἴσχυεν* is properly used, 'No one had the strength to subdue the demoniac.' In Matthew the word takes the place of *δύνασθαι*, 'No one could pass that way.' Matthew reproduces with a less exact meaning, and in a less fitting context, a word which he has remembered from his exemplar.

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6. Mark v. 24, Matt. ix. 19, *ἠκολούθει αὐτῷ*. In Mark the multitude follows Jesus, in Matthew Jesus follows Jairus.

7. Mark v. 30, Luke viii. 49. The statement of the Evangelist in the second Gospel becomes the statement of our Lord in the third.

8. Mark vi. 3, *οὐχ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τέκτων ὁ υἱὸς τῆς Μαρίας*; Matt. xiii. 55, *οὐχ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τοῦ τέκτονος υἱός*; *οὐχ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ λέγεται Μαριάμ*. *υἱός* in Mark defined by *τῆς Μαρίας*, is in Matthew defined by *τοῦ τέκτονος*, yet occupies exactly the same position in the sentence.

6. Mark vi. 16, *ὃν ἐγὼ ἀπεκεφάλισα Ἰωάννην οὗτος ἡγήρθη*; Luke ix. 9, *Ἰωάννην ἐγὼ ἀπεκεφάλισα, τίς δέ ἐστιν οὗτος*; *οὗτος* in Mark refers to *Ἰωάννην*, in Luke to the unknown person about whom the question is asked.

10. Mark vi. 19. It is Herodias who wishes to kill John. In Matt. xiv. 5, it is Herod.

11. Mark vi. 20. Herod feared John; Matt. xiv. 5, Herod feared the people.

12. Mark vi. 48, Matt. xiv. 24. In Mark the disciples are hard pressed (*βασανιζομένους*) in rowing; in Matthew the boat is hard pressed (*βασανιζόμενον*) by the waves.

13. Mark ix. 6, Matt. xvii. 6, Luke ix. 34. At the Transfiguration the emotion of fear is ascribed to the disciples at a different moment in each record: in Mark after St. Peter's speech, in Matthew after hearing the



voice from the cloud, in Luke as they first entered into the cloud.

14. Mark ix. 34, Matt. xviii. 1, Luke ix. 46, *τίς μείζων*. In Mark and Luke this is stated to be the subject of the disciples' discussion; in Matthew it is the question they brought to our Lord.

15. Mark x. 6, Matt. xix. 4, 8, *ἀπ' ἀρχῆς*. In Mark x. 3-5 the permission of divorce is discussed before the divine law of marriage is stated (Mark x. 6-9). Matthew reverses the order, putting what corresponds to Mark x. 6-9 before what corresponds to Mark x. 3-6*a*. Thus the expression in Mark x. 6*a*, *ἀπὸ δὲ ἀρχῆς*, is twice repeated by Matthew. The two parts of the discourse were apparently remembered separately, this expression being prefixed to one and affixed to the other.

16. In the same passage, what Mark (x. 3, 4) records as the words of our Lord, Matthew transfers to the lips of the Pharisees, *τί ἐνετείλατο Μωσῆς*.

17. Mark x. 17, Luke xviii. 18, *Διδάσκαλε ἀγαθέ, τί ποιήσω, κ.τ.λ.*, becomes in Matt. xix. 16, *Διδάσκαλε τί ἀγαθὸν ποιήσω, κ.τ.λ.*, entailing our Lord's simple reply, as given in the second and third Gospels, *τί με λεγείς ἀγαθόν*, into the somewhat confused *τί με ἐρωτᾷς περὶ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ* of Matthew. Is it not possible that Matthew's source had the *τί* carelessly put out of place, *Διδάσκαλε τί ἀγαθέ*, a blunder miscorrected in Matthew?

18. Mark x. 21, our Lord says, *Ἐν σε ὑστερεῖ*. Matt. xix. 20, the young man says, *τί ἔτι ὑστερῶ*.

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19. Mark x. 24, ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς πάλιν ἀποκριθεὶς λέγει αὐτοῖς, becomes in Matt. xix. 24 part of our Lord's speech, πάλιν δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν.

20. Mark xi. 3, the promise our Lord put into the mouths of His disciples when they wished to borrow the colt for His entry into Jerusalem, καὶ εὐθὺς αὐτὸν ἀποστέλλει (sc. Ἰησοῦς) πάλιν ὧδε, becomes in Matt. xxi. 3 a prediction of what the owner of the animals will do, εὐθὺς δὲ ἀποστέλει αὐτούς.

21. In Mark xii. 9, Luke xx. 16, our Lord answers His own question, 'What will the Lord of the vineyard do?' Ἐλεύσεται καὶ ἀπολέσει τοὺς γεώργους. In Matt. xxi. 41 His hearers supply the answer, κακοὺς κακῶς ἀπολέσει αὐτούς.

22. Mark xii. 15, ὁ δὲ εἰδὼς αὐτῶν τὴν ὑπόκρισιν εἶπεν αὐτοῖς τί με πειράζετε, becomes in Matt. xxii. 18, εἶπεν, τί με πειράζετε ὑποκριταί; the remark of the Evangelist transferred into the question of our Lord.

23. Mark xii. 20, οὐκ ἀφῆκεν σπέρμα; Matt. xxii. 25, μὴ ἔχων σπέρμα ἀφῆκεν τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ. The object of ἀφῆκεν is changed.

24. Mark xii. 37, καὶ ὁ πολλὸς ὄχλος ἤκουεν αὐτοῦ ἡδέως. These words obviously apply to what precedes. The other Synoptists connect them with what follows. Luke xx. 45 seems to be the intermediate stage, Ἀκούοντος δὲ πάντος τοῦ λαοῦ εἶπεν τοῖς μαθηταῖς. In Matt. xxiii. 1 we have τότε ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐλάλησεν τοῖς ὄχλοις καὶ τοῖς μαθηταῖς.

25. Mark xiv. 1, 'The Passover was after two days'; Matt. xxvi. 2, Jesus said, 'Ye know that after two days is the Passover,' a change similar to that recorded above (No. 23).

26. Similarly, the fact stated in Mark xiv. 23, *καὶ ἔπιον ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες*, becomes in Matt. xxvi. part of our Lord's command, *πίετε ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες*.

27. Mark xiv. 49, *προσηύχετο ἵνα . . . παρέλθῃ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἡ ὥρα*. Matt. xxvi. 39, *παρελθάτω ἀπ' ἐμοῦ τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο*. Besides the change from Oratio Obliqua into Oratio Recta, the subject of the verb in Mark is *ὥρα*, in Matthew *ποτήριον*.

28. Mark xiv. 71, Matt. xxvi. 74, *οὐκ οἶδα τὸν ἄνθρωπον*, becomes in Luke xxii. 60, *Ἀνθρώπε, οὐκ οἶδα ὃ λέγεις*.

29. Mark xv. 11, the statement *οἱ δὲ ἀρχιερεῖς ἀνέσεισαν τὸν ὄχλον*, in Luke xxiii. 5 appears as a complaint against our Lord, *οἱ δὲ ἐπίσχουν λέγοντες Ἀνασείει τὸν λαόν, κ.τ.λ.*

30. Mark xv. 4, Pilate's words, *οὐκ ἀποκρίνη οὐδέν*, are in Matt. xxvii. 12 turned into a statement of fact, *οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίνατο*.

31. Mark xv. 17, the word *περιτιθέασιν* is used of the encircling of our Lord's brows with the crown of thorns. The same word is used, in Matt. xxvii. 28, of the encircling of His shoulders with the scarlet robe.

32. Mark xv. 36, the soldier who offers the 'vinegar' says, *Ἀφέτε, ἴδωμεν εἰ ἔρχεται Ἡλείας*. In Matt.

xxvii. 49 his comrades try to restrain him with the same words, "Αφες, ἴδωμεν, κ.τ.λ.

33. Mark xvi. 7, 'There (in Galilee) shall ye see Him (καθὼς εἶπεν ὑμῖν) as (Jesus) told you.' Matt. xxviii. 7, 'There shall ye see Him (ἰδοὺ εἶπον ὑμῖν), lo, I (the angel) have told you.' Luke xxiv. 6, *μνήσθητε ὡς ἐλάλησεν ὑμῖν ἔτι ὢν ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ*, 'Remember how He spake to you when He was yet in Galilee.' Here we have a threefold variation of meaning derived from practically the same words.

These alterations the result of imperfect memory.

These instances of the use of the same words by different Evangelists, with such alterations of arrangement and construction that frequently the meaning of the sentences where they occur is entirely changed, certainly seem to lend themselves more naturally to the explanation that they are the outcome of imperfect memory, than that they are ingenious although frequently purposeless alterations of a written text. They are indeed insufficient, in the face of opposing considerations, to prove that the writers of the first and third Gospels relied entirely upon memory, but they go a long way towards showing that they did so to a considerable extent. They had so thoroughly impregnated themselves with the language of their sources, that they did not trouble constantly to refer to them, but rather kept themselves under their general guidance.

V

TRACES OF A 'FOUNDATION DOCUMENT' BEHIND OUR  
SECOND GOSPEL, AND PROBABLE CHARACTER OF THE  
USE MADE OF IT BY THE OTHER SYNOPTISTS.

WE have hitherto been assuming that we have in our second Gospel the veritable source which supplied, as a whole, or in fragments, the writers of the first and third with matter. Before Matthew and Luke copied down that which they have in common with Mark, the whole of his Gospel had been written practically as we have it now. Further consideration, however, suggests that this view must be modified. In a considerable number of instances Matthew and Luke agree as against Mark. It is true that, compared with the multitude of cases in which Mark sides with one of the two as against the other, the number of such agreements is insignificant, and their character is more insignificant than their number. The explanation of them that they are the combined results of (*A*) accident, (*B*) early assimilation, (*C*) the influence of other documents telling in part the same story as our second Gospel, will no doubt carry us a considerable way, but it is doubtful whether they will altogether account for the phenomena.

Not the second Gospel as we have it now lay behind the first and third.

Agreements of the first and third against the second.

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Some  
resulting  
from  
accident.

A. The great majority of these verbal agreements may easily have arisen by accident. The writers of the first and third Gospels, if they had the second before them, undoubtedly manipulated it, or found it manipulated in two ways—it was condensed, and it was made more literary in style. We have already seen reason to think that they found it more or less mutilated; if the mutilation was intentional, that which was left would probably be to some extent condensed as well. The literary polish they certainly added, each in his own way.

Instances.

Nevertheless in many instances the same improvement of style appears in both writers. Very often it consists in the insertion of a connecting particle: *οὖν*, Matt. xxi. 40, Luke xx. 15, etc.; *καί*, Matt. xxiv. 7, Luke xxi. 11, etc.; *γάρ*, Matt. xxiv. 5, Luke xxi. 8, etc. Sometimes the subject or object of the verb, in Mark understood, in the others is expressed, *e.g.* Matt. xvii. 18, Luke ix. 42. Sometimes we find a similar phrase of transition from one incident to another, *e.g.* Matt. xvii. 5, Luke ix. 3, *ἔτι αὐτοῦ λαλοῦντος—ταῦτα δὲ αὐτοῦ λέγοντος*; or the insertion of simple explanatory participles, *λέγων*, *ἀκούσας*, etc., *e.g.* Matt. xvii. 5, Luke ix. 35, Matt. xix. 22, Luke xviii. 23; or the substitution of more classical words for expressions characteristic of the vernacular, *e.g.* *κλίνη* for *κράβαττον*, Matt. ix. 2, Luke v. 18; *τρήμα* for *τρυμαλία*, Matt. xix. 24, Luke xviii. 25, or the frequent change of *ἔφη*, *ἔλεγε* into *εἶπε*. In fact, a very large proportion of the agreements of Matthew

and Luke as against Mark might well be reckoned as falling under the category of obvious remodelling of style. The following may perhaps be due to the same cause:—

Mark i. 10, *εἶδεν σχιζομένους τοὺς οὐράνους*; Matt. iii. 16, *ἠνεώχθησαν οἱ οὐρανοί*; Luke iii. 20, *ἀνεωχθῆναι τὸν οὐρανόν*.

Mark i. 12, *ἐκβάλλει*; Matt. iv. 1, *ἀνήχθη*; Luke. iv. 1, *ἤγετο*.

Mark i. 43, omitted in the parallel passages of the other Synoptics.

Mark ii. 12, *ἐξῆλθεν*; Matt. ix. 7, Luke v. 25, *ἀπῆλθεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ*; the phrase having already occurred in all three Gospels in the preceding verse.

Mark ii. 21, *ἐπιράπτει*; Matt. ix. 16, *ἐπιβάλλει*; Luke v. 36, *βάλλει*.

Mark iv. 15, *τὸν λόγον τὸν ἐσπαρμένον εἰς αὐτούς*; Matt. xiii. 19, *ἐσπαρμένον ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτῶν*; Luke viii. 12, *αἶρει τὸν λόγον ἀπὸ τῆς καρδίας αὐτῶν*.

Mark vi. 10, *ὅπου ἐὰν εἰσέλθητε εἰς οἰκίαν*; Matt. x. 10, *εἰς ἣν ἂν πόλιν, κ.τ.λ.*; Luke ix. 4, *εἰς ἣν ἂν οἰκίαν*.

Mark viii. 15, *βλέπετε ἀπό*; Matt. xvi. 6, Luke xii. 1, *προσέχετε ἀπό*.

Mark viii. 29, *Σὺ εἶ ὁ χρίστος*; Matt. xvi. 16 adds *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος*; Luke ix. 20 has *τὸν χρίστον τοῦ θεοῦ*.



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Mark ix. 18, οὐκ ἴσχυσαν; Matt. xvii. 16, Luke ix. 40, οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν.

Mark ix. 31, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραδίδοται. This vivid present is tamed down into a future in Matt. xvii. 22, Luke ix. 44, μέλλει παραδίδοσθαι.

Mark x. 30, ἑκατονταπλασίονα; Matt. xix. 19, Luke xviii. 30, πολλαπλασίονα.

Mark xi. 2, λύσατε αὐτὸν καὶ φέρετε; Matt. xxi. 1, λύσαντες ἀγάγετε; Luke xix. 30, λύσαντες αὐτὸν ἀγάγετε.

Mark xi. 3, εἴπατε; Matt. xxi. 3, Luke xix. 31, the future ἐρεῖτε is used.

*B.* Four instances might be explicable as very early assimilations of the language of Matthew to Luke, or *vice versa*.

Mark ii. 22, ὁ οἶνος ἀπόλλυται καὶ οἱ ἀσκοί; Matt. ix. 17, καὶ ὁ οἶνος ἐκχεῖται καὶ οἱ ἀσκοὶ ἀπόλλυνται; Luke v. 37, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκχυθήσεται καὶ οἱ ἀσκοὶ ἀπολούνται. Comparison of these passages suggests the insertion of ἐκχεῖται in Matthew from memory of ἐκχυθήσεται in Luke.

Mark iv. 41, καὶ ἐφοβήθησαν φόβον μέγαν. In Matthew there is no mention of fear but of astonishment (viii. 27), οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι ἐθαύμασαν. Luke combines both emotions, φοβηθέντες δὲ ἐθαύμασαν. Here the third Gospel appears to be the borrower.

Mark ix. 19, Matt. xvii. 17, Luke ix. 41. Matthew and Luke insert καὶ διεστραμμένην.

Mark xiv. 65, Matt. xxvi. 28, Luke xxii. 64. The

Instances  
of early  
assimila-  
tion.

phrase *προφήτευσον τίς ἐστὶν ὁ παῖσας σε*, on this theory, must have been inserted in Matthew from Luke. For whereas Mark and Luke contain the mention of the covering of our Lord's face, which gives point to the demand for this particular 'prophecy,' Matthew omits that detail.

Possibly some of the instances ascribed above to accident, are really due to this cause. If the very general opinion among scholars is correct, that the second Gospel fell into disuse after the publication of the first and third, in consequence of their using up the matter contained in it, and that to this cause is due the mutilation of its close, then the period when the first and third were so exclusively studied may easily have produced such assimilations, which may have won their way so as to leave no further trace of the original Gospel so assimilated than we have of the original ending of the second Gospel.

C. Another cause of agreements between Matthew and Luke as against Mark may be the use by the two former of documents which occasionally relate incidents or discourses already contained in Mark.

Instances  
of agree-  
ments  
resulting  
from use of  
overlapping  
documents.

Mark iv. 31. The anacoluthon in this verse is evaded in Matt. xiii. 31, *ὃν λαβὼν ἄνθρωπος ἔσπειρεν*; in Luke xiii. 19, *ὃν λαβὼν ἄνθρωπος ἔβαλε*. The fact that in both Matthew and Luke this parable is immediately followed by that of the leaven which Mark has not, seems a clear indication that the writers of the first and third Gospels had access to some

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record of our Lord's parables containing these two in juxtaposition.

In the Marcan account of the Mission of the Twelve some discrimination is shown as to what the disciples may, and what they may not, provide themselves with. Mark vi. 8, 9, enjoins them to carry a staff and to wear sandals, whereas in Matt. x. 16, and Luke ix. 3, all the articles mentioned are forbidden including these. It is noteworthy in this connection that Luke's account of the Mission of the Seventy forbids precisely the same articles (Luke x. 4), and that this passage contains a good deal which we find in Matthew's record of the Mission of the Twelve.

Mark ix. 29. Instead of this verse, Matt. xvii. 20 gives words obviously drawn from the same source as Luke xvii. 6. It may be that the writer of the first Gospel missed the point of the answer as recorded in the second, or perhaps his Marcan document altered it out of tenderness for the reputation of the Twelve.

Mark ix. 35. Another saying known to the writers of the first and third Gospels is given in a different connection in Luke xxii. 26, but is interwoven by Matthew with that here given by Mark (Matt. xxiii. 11).

Mark ix. 37, 41, Matt. x. 40, 42, Luke ix. 48. These sayings appear in the first Gospel as part of our Lord's charge to the Twelve. We have already had evidence that for that charge the first Gospel does not depend solely upon Mark.

Mark ix. 42 is reproduced in Luke xvii. 1, 2, in

another context. The parallel passage to Mark in the first Gospel (Matt. xviii. 6, 7) is coloured from the source whence Luke xvii. 1, 2 is drawn (cf. Matt. xviii. 7, and Luke xvii. 1).

Mark xiii., Matt. xxiv., Luke xxi. The report in the first Gospel of the great eschatological discourse repeats several ideas and much of the language of the charge to the Twelve, as given in the same Gospel and in Mark (cf. Matt. x. 17, 18, 22, Matt. xxiv. 9, Mark xiii. 9, 13, and Matt. x. 19, 22, Mark xiii. 11-13). Another discourse found in Luke xvii. 20-37 contains passages similar to Mark xiii. (cf. Mark xiii. 15, 16, Luke xvii. 31, and Mark xiii. 21, Luke xvii. 26, 27). This Lucan discourse also contains language and thoughts reproduced in Matt. xxiv., but not in Mark xiii. (cf. Luke xvii. 24, Matt. xxiv. 26, 27, Luke xvii. 26, 27, Matt. xxiv. 37-39, Luke xvii. 34, 35, Matt. xxiv. 40, 41).

These instances are taken from sayings and discourses of our Blessed Lord, and suggest the use by the writers of the first and third Gospels of some such work as we may imagine the *λόγια Κυριακά* to have been, which Papias tells us were written by St. Matthew in Hebrew. If we can suppose that they were entirely, or to a large extent, recorded without mention of time or place of utterance, and that different traditions were afloat on these points, the phenomena presented by the way in which they are woven into the Gospel narrative would be accounted for. Of course, nothing is more likely than that our Lord frequently repeated Himself.

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It is not necessary to reject one tradition in accepting another.

The following appear to be instances of the use by the writers of the first and third Gospels of documents based on the same oral tradition as Mark, but fuller.<sup>1</sup>

Mark i. 7, 8, Matt. iv. 11, 12, Luke iii. 16, 17. The first and third Gospels draw from a narrative of the preaching of the Baptist which includes and adds to the prophecy contained in Mark.

Mark i. 12, 13. The mention of our Lord's Temptation in the second Gospel is expanded in the first and third Gospels in a way which strongly suggests dependence of both on a document unknown to Mark, Matt. iv. 1-11, Luke iv. 1-13.

Mark iii. 19-30, Matt. xii. 22-32, Luke xi. 14-23. For a discussion of these passages see above, page 33. The first Gospel further records as a distinct occurrence what looks very like another version of the same event. If with Westcott and Hort the genuineness of Matt. ix. 34 is to be suspected, the probability that the incidents were different is somewhat strengthened, as

<sup>1</sup> Sir J. C. Hawkins, *Hor. Syn.*, p. 175, dismisses as improbable the suggestion of an 'early non-Marcian document to which the compilers of the first and third Gospels were able to refer.' In this he seems justified, but he does not consider the possibility of glosses, enlargements, and additions made by other hands to the Marcan story, the Marcan document coming into the hands of Matthew and Luke thus altered. Further, the phenomena of 'doublets' discussed by him (*Hor. Syn.*, Pt. II. § 4) show clearly that traditions did sometimes overlap.

also the case for a very early assimilation of one Gospel to another. However, the occurrence of these similar instances warrants the supposition that if the writer of the first Gospel had three distinct versions to draw from he would have given them as three distinct incidents. The source he used in addition to Mark iii. 19-30, if indeed he used our second Gospel as we have it, was a commingling of the Marcan and Lucan elements of the story.<sup>1</sup>

The positive agreements of Matthew and Luke as against Mark will almost always fall in with one or other of the explanations given above, but there are negative agreements as well as positive to be accounted for. And what is true of the insertions is also true of the omissions. In the aggregate they amount to a great many. Almost every section of the second Gospel if compared with its parallels in the other Synoptics will provide instances, and some in considerable numbers. A reason more or less plausible can be given for all.

Three complete sections of Mark are wanting to Matthew and Luke, viz. iv. 26-29, vii. 31-37, viii. 22-26. Matthew may be said to have substituted for the first a parable on a similar subject, that of the Tares and the Wheat (Matt. xiii. 24-30), and to have omitted the other two because he considered the gradual character of the cures narrated to rob them of impressiveness. Luke relied on another document in narrating the

Negative agreements of first and third Gospels against second.

Sections of second Gospel wanting in first and third.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 33.

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great series of parables, while the two miracles fall into that large series of incidents passed over which goes by the name of the 'great omission.' One feels that the reason given for the omission of the parable of the seed growing secretly is very unsatisfactory. The parable of the Tares and the Wheat, which Matthew substitutes, conveys altogether a different lesson, and the reason for its insertion at this point may just as easily be because it follows the parable of the Sower as because it was substituted for another 'corn' parable. Similarly, the fact that Luke probably made use of another document besides Mark here does not account for his failing to reproduce Mark's parable. Nothing quite equivalent takes its place.

Omissions  
of details  
of second  
Gospel by  
the first  
and third.

Unsatis-  
factory  
character  
of explana-  
tions given.

When we pass from whole sections to isolated details the possible reasons for omission suggest themselves readily enough. The great number of them, however, strikes the student as unnatural, and some seem to militate against quite distinctive characteristics of the writers who omit. Luke's particularity about names and dates shows itself almost as prominently in the Acts as in the Gospels. If he had before him the fact that 'Simon Peter and those who were with him tracked down' our Lord (Mark i. 36), he would not be likely to dilute the expression into the vague phrase 'the crowds were seeking for Him' (Luke iv. 42). If he knew that the disciples mentioned two hundred pence as an approximate calculation of the amount required to feed five thousand men (Mark vi. 37), that



was just the sort of detail he would make haste to record. If he had read the account as it appears in our second Gospel of the healing of the blind man at Jericho, we should certainly find Bartimaeus figuring by name in his record (Mark x. 46). He would not tell us generally that the disciples asked the questions which gave rise to the great eschatological discourse if he had been aware that the questioners were the four fishermen of Galilee (Mark xiii. 3). He would never have omitted the fact that our Lord was crucified at the third hour (Mark xv. 25) had he found it in his exemplar.

In Mark iv. 35 we find an explicit assertion of chronological sequence, *ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ*, which Luke omits and Matthew sets aside, placing the incident at an earlier stage in our Lord's ministry. Matthew may have deliberately intended to contradict Mark, but it is more probable, considering the general deference he pays to his Marcan source, that he did not find this expression there. For the same reason, it seems highly improbable that Matthew should represent the circumstances which led to the death of the Baptist so differently from Mark if he had our second Gospel before him (cf. Mark vi. 19, 20, Matt. xiv. 5), and yet of the two accounts who can doubt that Mark's is the correct one? Sometimes we have a striking saying such as Mark ii. 27, 'The Sabbath was made for man and not man for the Sabbath,' omitted by both, or the mention of the 'baptism' which lay before our Lord omitted

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from one of the other Synoptics (Mark x. 38, cf. Matt. xx. 22). The great majority of omissions, however, are of those minute and varied details with which the second Gospel abounds, and which of course may not have appealed to less vivid writers.

For these agreements of first and third against second Gospel, can any single theory account?

A continuous narrative can be formed out of language common to any two of these Gospels.

We have, then, scattered throughout the narrative common to the three Evangelists a number of expressions occurring in the first and third Gospels, but absent from the second; and conversely, a number of expressions and details of description in the second Gospel, but omitted from the first and third. Plausible reasons can be found for most of these, but the great number of them combined suggests a strong doubt whether it is sound criticism to meet and overcome them one by one, and whether a theory which will account for them all is not more likely to be correct. Now it is remarkable how complete and continuous a narrative can be formed by writing out every expression common to Mark and one or both of the other Synoptics, together with expressions in the common narrative in which the other Synoptics agree as against Mark. Only a few words have to be supplied from time to time in order to complete the sense, and these are generally necessary only at the commencement of the sections into which the narrative falls, *e.g.* Mark i. 2-20; Matt. iii. 1-6, 11-17, iv. 1, 2, 11, 17-22; Luke iii. 1-4, 7, 15-22, iv. 1, 2, 13, v. 1, 2, 10, 11.

Example.

Ἐγένετο Ἰωάννης ὁ βαπτίζων (καὶ) κηρύσσων ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ βάπτισμα μετανοίας εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, ὥς

γέγραπται<sup>1</sup> ἐν Ἡσαΐα τῷ προφήτῃ, φωνὴ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ἐτοιμάσατε τὴν ὁδὸν Κυρίου, εὐθείας ποιεῖτε τὰς τρίβους αὐτοῦ. Καὶ ἐξεπορεύετο πρὸς αὐτὸν πᾶσα ἡ Ἰουδαία καὶ Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ πᾶσα ἡ περίχωρος τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, καὶ ἐβαπτίζοντο ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ ποταμῷ ἐξομολογούμενοι τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν (καὶ ἦν) ὁ Ἰωάννης ἐνδεδυμένος τρίχας καμήλου καὶ ζώην δερματίνην περὶ τὴν ὀσφὺν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔσθων ἀκρίδας καὶ μέλι ἄγριον. (Καὶ ἐκήρυσσεν) λέγων, Ἐγὼ ὕδατι βαπτίζω ὑμᾶς,<sup>2</sup> ἔρχεται δὲ ὁ ἰσχυρότερός μου ὀπίσω μου, οὗ οὐκ εἰμὶ ἱκανὸς λῦσαι<sup>3</sup> τὸν ἰμάντα τῶν ὑποδημάτων αὐτοῦ. Αὐτὸς βαπτίσει ὑμᾶς ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ<sup>4</sup> (καὶ) ἐγένετο Ἰησοῦς ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας, (καὶ) ἐβαπτίσθη εἰς τὸν Ἰορδάνην ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου, (καὶ) εὐθὺς βαπτισθεὶς ἀνέβη (ἐκ) τοῦ ὕδατος, καὶ εἶδεν ἀνεφχθέντας<sup>5</sup> τοὺς οὐράνους καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα ὡς περιστερὰν κατάβαινον ἐπ' αὐτόν. Καὶ φωνὴ ἐκ τῶν οὐράνων,<sup>6</sup> Σὺ εἶ ὁ υἱὸς μου ὁ ἀγαπητός, ἐν σοὶ εὐδόκησα.

Καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα ἄγει (αὐτὸν) εἰς τὴν ἔρημον, καὶ ἦν ἐν

<sup>1</sup> This order seems to me to account for the transference of the quotation in Matthew to the lips of the Baptist.

<sup>2</sup> The order is that of Matthew and Luke.

<sup>3</sup> Matthew's *βάστασαι* is a variant from oral tradition.

<sup>4</sup> After some hesitation I have decided to reject *καὶ πνεύματι* from this foundation document. One would expect it in Acts i. 5, especially as Luke gives it in his Gospel. He seems to give the quotation in the Acts as he remembers it in the Marcan document.

<sup>5</sup> *σχιζομένους* a vivid touch of the writer of the second Gospel. St. Andrew, St. Peter's brother, was a disciple of the Baptist. This expression, as well as *ἐκβάλλει* and *μετὰ τῶν θηρίων* below, may come from St. Peter.

<sup>6</sup> Matthew's *Οὗτος ἐστὶ, κ.τ.λ.*, is a confusion with the later voice, Matt. xvii. 5.

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τῇ ἐρήμῳ τεσσεράκοντα ἡμέρας πειραζόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ Σατανᾶ<sup>1</sup> καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι διηκόνουν αὐτῷ.

(Μετὰ) δὲ (τὸ) παραδοθῆναι Ἰωάννην (ἦλθεν) ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν κηρύσσων (ὅτι) μετανοεῖτε· ἡγγικεν (γὰρ) ἡ βασιλεία (τοῦ Θεοῦ).

(Καὶ παράγων) παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν τῆς Γαλιλαίας εἶδεν Σίμωνα καὶ Ἀνδρέαν τὸν ἀδελφὸν (Σίμωνος) ἀμφιβάλλοντας (ἐν) τῇ θαλάσῃ, ἦσαν γὰρ ἀλεεῖς. Καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς Δεῦτε ὀπίσω μου, καὶ ποιήσω ὑμᾶς γενέσθαι ἀλεεῖς ἀνθρώπων. (Καὶ) εὐθὺς ἀφέντες τὰ δίκτυα ἠκολούθησαν αὐτῷ. Καὶ προβὰς εἶδεν Ἰάκωβον τὸν τοῦ Ζεβεδαίου καὶ Ἰωάννην τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ καταρτίζοντας τὰ δίκτυα. Καὶ εὐθὺς ἐκάλεσεν αὐτούς. Καὶ ἀφέντες τὸν πάτερα αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ ἠκολούθησαν αὐτῷ. Here we have to supply twenty-two words in a passage containing 285, and in this number is included the conjunction καί eight times repeated. If the same system be continued through the triple tradition about the same proportion, and the same character of words will have to be inserted throughout. The result will be a simple narrative of incidents, containing but little discourse, and somewhat tame and lifeless in character.<sup>2</sup> This foundation narrative, if it ever existed in written form, was reproduced in nearly all its incidents in the first Gospel,

This suggests a foundation document.

<sup>1</sup> Matthew and Luke use the Greek word διάβολος.

<sup>2</sup> Wernle, *Syn. Frage*, pp. 55, 56, brings into consideration the Western Text of D., and the Curetonian and Sinaitic Syriac. Whilst rightly regarding this text as due to ancient revision, and that of an harmonistic tendency, he tries to show that the Marcan text so

although with considerable condensations as regards detail especially in the earlier part of the story. Its incidents were only partially reproduced, although in general with a greater regard to detail in the third Gospel. In both these Gospels it was very largely supplemented from other sources. The writer of the second Gospel, on the other hand, would appear to have scarcely supplemented it at all. What he did was to work over it, adding names and details and vivid touches with a view to making it a lifelike narrative of the Saviour's earthly ministry. Now, supposing such a Greek Gospel to have existed in very early days, and to have been reckoned of such importance as to form one of the chief sources to three of the four Gospels, which ultimately received the imprimatur of the Church as the only trustworthy accounts of our Saviour's earthly life, it stands to reason that such a document must have owed its high reputation either to the known character and position of its author, or to that of the local Church which first possessed it—most probably to both these causes combined. If this document contained the testimony of one of the foremost of the Apostles, and was preserved by one of the most important churches, say that of Jerusalem<sup>1</sup> or

Which  
owed its  
reputation  
to eminence  
of author,  
or of place  
of origin,  
or of both.

treated was of an earlier character than our present one. The instances he gives do not appear to me very convincing. The best are Mark x. 24, 29, where he gives some reason to suspect the original existence of 'doublets.'

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Stanton, Hastings' *D. B.*, vol. ii. Gospels, p. 239, represents the need of some account of the life, teaching, and death of Jesus as

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Not written for publication. Antioch, many difficulties would be cleared up. We must not indeed suppose it to have been written for publication, but rather as a basis for the oral instructions delivered by the pastors and teachers at the meetings of the brethren. Nor would copies be multiplied. Among Christians of the first two generations there was no publishing firm like that of the brothers Sosii at Rome to spread far and wide written accounts of the facts accepted by the early Church. The document had not acquired a sacred character to make the possession of it as a whole an object of ambition to private persons. If copied at all it would be copied for practical purposes, and only in so far as it served practical purposes.

Copied for practical purposes and not word for word.

This applies even to quotations of our Lord's own words.

Probably not even the words of our Lord were regarded in their Greek dress as inviolably sacred. It was well known the Greek words represented the sense of an Aramaic original. Greater care indeed seems to have been taken to preserve intact the Greek expressions representing our Lord's words than those narrating His acts. For example, out of 661 verses in the second Gospel, expressions apparently taken from 565 appear in the first.<sup>2</sup> If we divide these into the four classes mentioned above: (1) where the verses are almost if not altogether identical in both Gospels, (2) where the

not likely to be felt for some time. But if we are to believe that St. Peter's sermon on the Day of Pentecost resulted in the accession of 3000 souls to the Church, would not that of itself cause the need?

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix I.

similarity between them precludes any other theory but that of a common source, (3) where the similarity suggests such a theory, (4) where the similarity is too slight to form the basis of any such theory, then the proportion of verses in the first class consisting mainly of our Lord's sayings to those consisting mainly of narrative is 59 per cent., in the second 33, in the third 25, and in the fourth 21. A similar result follows from the comparison of the second and third Gospels. In this case, out of a total of 456 verses common, more or less, to the two Gospels, the proportion of verses containing sayings of our Lord is in the first class 62 per cent., in the second 39, in the third 26, and 26 also in the fourth. This greater exactness in reproducing the Greek rendering of our Lord's sayings is a natural result of pondering over the words in order to reach the fulness of their meaning. The care taken, however, falls far short of what one would expect had the Greek rendering been supposed correct according to the exactness of verbal inspiration.

Now we may reasonably conclude that among those who were acquainted with this foundation record were some who felt called, or who were in the further stage of being commissioned by the Church, to carry the Gospel into other lands. In an age when writing was extensively practised, we should expect such persons to make copious notes or even to copy out large portions of this document, and such copies or collections of extracts may easily have passed into the hands

Mission-  
aries took  
extracts  
from this  
document.



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Guided in  
their choice  
by the  
needs of  
their con-  
verts.

of the writers of the first and third Gospels. In making them the transcribers would have specially in view the provision of matter for their own sermons and instructions, and would be mainly guided by the consideration of what would be beneficial to their hearers. They might regard it as inexpedient to relate to the unconverted, or newly converted, stories which appeared to reflect discredit on any of the Twelve. If the document which came into the hands of the writer of the third Gospel had been transcribed by a missionary to the Gentiles, he may well have omitted narratives which appeared better fitted for the instruction of Jews, and more likely to encumber than help his work, through the necessity which would lie on him of frequently explaining minute points of Jewish law and custom. Thus, although the writers of the first and third Gospels may have intended to record the story of our Lord's life fully, as far as they had received it from trustworthy sources, tendencies, and those perfectly honest, of the authorities they used might appear in such portions of the completed works as they owed to them. In this way the occurrence of tendencies in one part of a Gospel and not in another is accounted for, and also some of the omissions in the first and third Gospels of incidents related in the second.<sup>1</sup>

Hence the  
appearance  
of partial  
'tenden-  
cies.'

Difficulties  
thus ex-  
plained.

This theory suggests a possible explanation of what is generally regarded as a difficulty in the first Gospel.

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 45-49.

In Matt. viii. 28-34 we have mention of two demoniacs, in Matt. xx. 30-34 of two blind men where the parallel passages have but one, and in Matt. xxi. 1-7 of both an ass and a colt where the other Synoptists have a colt only. The last of these instances is usually explained as due to the tendency of the writer to see in the occurrences of our Lord's life literal fulfilments of Old Testament prophecy. Inasmuch as the prophet Zechariah speaks of both ass and colt, both must figure in Messiah's triumphant entry into Jerusalem. The explanation, however, does not suit the two preceding instances. If the writer of the first Gospel had before him an abbreviation of the 'foundation document' originally drawn up to form the basis of some teacher's oral instructions, may not the fact that a plurality of demons possessed one person have been so ambiguously expressed as to give the compiler of our first Gospel the impression that a plurality of persons were possessed? And as regards the healing of the two blind men at Jericho, may not the writer of the first Gospel have found the story confused by his authority with another similar one which he himself gives us, derived from independent sources (Matt. ix. 27-31)?

Perhaps an alternative suggestion to the above may be worth making. The second and third Gospels contain a narrative of the cure of a demoniac which has several points in common with the Gerasene incident, Mark i. 23-27, Luke iv. 33-36. Similarly in Mark viii. 22-26 we find a miracle of sight restora-

Multiplication of characters in Matthew.

tion which does not occur in the other Synoptics.<sup>1</sup> If the authority for the first Gospel designedly omitted these, may he not have given some indication of the fact by marginal note or otherwise, which, misunderstood by the writer of the first Gospel, occasioned the multiplication of persons healed which we find in his record?

Bartimaeus  
at Jericho.

In connection with the miracle of sight-healing at Jericho, condensation may account for another discrepancy between the Synoptists. In Matt. xx. 29, Mark x. 46, our Lord is stated to have performed this mighty work while going out of Jericho, in Luke xviii. 35 while drawing nigh to the city. Mark x. 46 mentions both the entry into and the departure from Jericho. If the document copied by the writer of the third Gospel mentioned the entry, and then narrated the miracle without any mark of the time when it occurred, may not this have caused the variation?

'The great  
omission.'

The phenomena which surround the 'great omission' from the third Gospel (Mark vi. 45—viii. 21) suggest

<sup>1</sup> Hawkins, *Hor. Syn.*, Part iii. A, § 1, attributes the omission of this story to the mention in it of the use of means of healing supposed to be derogatory to the Saviour's wonder-working power. This may account for the omission on the part of partial transcribers without invalidating the suggestion given above. If Sir J. C. Hawkins' suggestion in the preceding paragraph is correct, viz. that the omission of Mark vii. 32-37 was in part due to painful effort being implied 'looking up to heaven He sighed,' it is worth notice that the quotation in Matt. viii. 17 from Isa. liii. 4 carries the same implication. The 'tendency' is not therefore that of the writer of the first Gospel.

either a designed misrepresentation of the actual course of events, or else a critical attempt on the part of the author of the third Gospel to give a smooth course to a narrative which the lacuna in his copy rendered difficult if not unintelligible. Of these alternatives who would choose the former if the latter can be supported by adequate considerations? It may be suggested therefore that the transcriber of the second Gospel continued it to Mark vi. 46, ἀπῆλθεν μόνος εἰς τὸ ὄρος προσεύξασθαι, and then omitting the intervening verses went straight to Mark viii. 27. That verse represents our Lord in the neighbourhood of Bethsaida, whither a line or two previously, according to the transcriber, He had sent the disciples without Him. The third Gospel makes all smooth by supposing that He went with them into that neighbourhood, and rejecting the statement that He sent them away, places the incidents related in Luke ix. 18-23 at the place to which He had retired for private prayer. From the sentence in Mark, ἀπῆλθεν μόνος, κ.τ.λ., would be derived the κατὰ μόνας of Luke ix. 18, rather awkwardly followed by συνῆσαν αὐτῷ οἱ μαθηταί. Another point suggesting some such operation not quite skilfully performed, is that the removal in the third Gospel of Mark vi. 45 from the end to the beginning of the account of the feeding of the five thousand, results in our Lord and His disciples being represented in the third Gospel as going to a city (Luke ix. 10), which two verses lower is termed a 'desert place,' not even near a city, for the crowd is

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expected to disperse into the 'villages and fields round about' to buy victuals.

The Syn-  
optic  
Gospels  
followed  
each other  
quickly.

It may be added that this theory of imperfect copies of the Foundation Document being used by the authors of the first and third Gospels, supposes that there was no great lapse of time while the Synoptic records were being brought out. They followed each other quickly, otherwise the second Gospel in its completeness would have spread all over the Church and formed the basis of the subsequent ones. They must also have been compiled at places distant from that where the Foundation Document was known in its entirety<sup>1</sup>

Did the  
writer of  
the second  
Gospel  
know the  
Dual  
Tradition?

Besides the narrative common to all the Synoptists, there is also, as is well known, a considerable amount of matter, consisting chiefly of the sayings of our Lord Jesus Christ, which is found in the first and third Gospels but is absent from the second. If the first and third Gospels are dependent on a document best represented by the second, and not *vice versa*, then it is obvious that these passages must be derived from a source or sources additional to this document. To discuss what these were is outside our scope,<sup>2</sup> but when

<sup>1</sup> Baines (see above, p. 42) suggests Alexandria as the birthplace of the first Gospel.

<sup>2</sup> It may be well, however, shortly to state my view of the origin of the Dual Tradition. The narrative portions scattered around the foundation (Marcan) document, were probably added by way of supplement and incorporated into the course of the history in Matthew and Luke. The discourses of our Lord came out first in a document consisting entirely, or almost entirely, of sayings introduced in the simplest way, and with no attempt at arrangement. In this form it

we find scattered among non-Marcan matter isolated sayings, either identical or very closely analogous to passages in the second Gospel, the question arises whether or not it is necessary to assume that the author of our Mark, or of the Foundational Document behind it, made any use of these additional sources. Obviously, if it is not necessary in order to explain the phenomena, such an assumption would be an unwarrantable complication of a problem already sufficiently complicated. These additional sources may be here called 'the Logia' in deference to the generally accepted view that some work containing 'sayings of our Lord' (λόγια κυριακά) lay before the writers of the first and third Gospels.

1. Mark iv. 21 = Matt. v. 15; Luke viii. 16, xi. 33. Test cases.  
 Luke viii. 16 is obviously parallel to and drawn from Mark. The correspondence of the other two passages is not sufficiently marked, as compared with their correspondence with Mark, to indicate a distinct source from Mark. They both alter, each in a different way, Mark's rather harsh *Μήτι ἔρχεται ὁ λύχνος*, and substitute *ἀλλά* for Mark's *οὐχ' ἵνα*.

2. Mark iv. 22 = Matt. x. 26; Luke viii. 17, xii. 2. Matt. x. 26, Luke xii. 2, appear to come from the Logia, which has nothing in common with Mark but the

lay before Luke. Oral Traditions soon arose as to the occasions when many of these sayings were uttered, and Luke (and perhaps also Matthew to some extent) made use of these. The sayings were subsequently rearranged, and probably enlarged, and in this form were used by Matthew.

general sense. Luke viii. 17 is a rendering of the parallel passage of Mark, coloured, however, by a reminiscence of the Logia. Short proverbial sayings such as this were probably not only frequently repeated by our Lord, but also remembered and reported by many. Thus their probable occurrence in the Logia as well as in Mark affords not the slightest presumption that Mark had seen the Logia. For similar instances to this see Mark iv. 25 = Matt. xiii. 12, xxv. 29; Luke viii. 18, xix. 26. Mark x. 31 = Matt. xix. 30, xx. 16; Luke xiii. 30. Mark xiii. 33, 35 = Matt. xxiv. 42, xxv. 13; Luke xii. 40.

3. Mark iv. 24, *καὶ προστεθήσεται ὑμῖν*, cf. Matt. vi. 33, Luke xii. 31. The passages in Matthew and Luke appear to be derived from the Logia. For the occurrence of these words in Mark three alternatives present themselves: (1) Mark has seen the Logia; (2) The words have been inserted in Mark from the other Synoptics; (3) Accidental coincidence. Of these the last seems on the whole the most probable.

4. Mark vi. 8 = Matt. x. 9; Luke ix. 3, x. 4. In the Logia, followed by Matthew, Luke, the disciples (whether the Twelve or the Seventy) were forbidden to take either staff or sandals. Mark gives an earlier version permitting these articles to be taken. This passage therefore tells strongly against Mark having seen the Logia.

5. Mark vii. 4 = Matt. xxiii. 25; Luke xi. 39. Mark's editorial note forms a comment to the passages of the other Synoptics referred to, but the form our Lord's



answer takes (Mark vii. 6-13) makes it exceedingly improbable that the writer had seen their original. Otherwise he might have been expected to introduce a charge so apposite.

6. Mark viii. 11, 12 = Matt. xii. 38, 39, xvi. 1, 4; Luke xi. 16, 29. The 'doublet' in Matthew suggests that the passage existed in the Logia, the discrepancy between Mark and the other two Synoptists, whereby in Mark no sign is given, in the others the sign of Jonas, affords a strong presumption that Mark had not seen the Logia.

7. Mark viii. 38 = Matt. x. 32; Luke ix. 26. The passage in Matthew only agrees in general sense with Mark. There is no indication that Mark had seen the source from which it is drawn.

8. Mark ix. 37, 41 = Matt. x. 40, 42; Luke ix. 26. Luke's passage is obviously taken from Mark, as also Matt. xviii. 5. Matt. x. 40, 42, is possibly a passage from the Logia seen by Mark and adapted to his context, but the expression of Matt. x. 42, *ἐνὰ τῶν μικρῶν τούτων*, albeit not copied from Mark, gives the impression that the adaptation is Matthew's, who remembered the sense of the context whence he drew it. Most probably the passage of the Logia is Matt. x. 41, which is enlarged by the help of Mark ix. 37, 41, into Matt. x. 40-42.

9. Mark ix. 43, 47 = Matt. v. 29, 30, xviii. 8, 9. In the Sermon on the Mount stands a passage apparently derived from the Logia (Matt. v. 29, 30). This passage

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slightly colours the Evangelist's language when (xviii. 8, 9) he reproduces the passage of Mark in its proper context. If the Marcan original was itself derived from the Logia, then it was recast; but a comparison of Mark ix. 43, 47 with Matt. v. 29, 30, gives the impression that the Marcan form is the earlier. The rhetorical repetition of *συνφέρει γάρ σοι, κ.τ.λ.*, in Matthew is a later and more polished style.

10. Mark ix. 50 = Matt. v. 13, 14; Luke xiv. 34, 35. Matthew and Luke have as against Mark the two expressions *μωρανθῇ*, and *ἔξω βάλλουσι* (Luke), *βληθὲν ἔξω* (Matt.). These agreements point to a passage in the Logia, most nearly represented by Matthew, while Luke's reproduction is somewhat coloured by reminiscence of Mark. The total absence from the other Synoptics of anything corresponding to the idea expressed in Mark ix. 49, and the need of the following verse to complete the sense, suggests that the source whence Mark derived it was not the Logia.

11. Mark x. 2-11 = Matt. v. 31, 32, xix. 3-9; Luke xvi. 18. There can be no doubt that Matt. xix. 3-9 is based on Mark x. 2-11. The other two passages are so closely connected and have so little in common with these, that they may confidently be pronounced to be derived from a common source which Mark shows no evidence of having seen.

12. Mark xiii. 9-13 = Matt. x. 17-22, xxiv. 9-14; Luke xxi. 12-19. The first, third, and fourth of these passages are parallel as shown by the context. In them nothing

is common to Matthew and Luke which is absent from Mark. We may therefore take the common matter in them as derived from Mark. Matt. x. 17-22 is, however, a closer transcript of Mark than xxiv. 9-14. There is therefore no sign here that Mark was acquainted with the Logia.

Of the fifteen passages commented on above three, numbered respectively 3, 8, and 9, contain features which might perhaps be as plausibly explained by the hypothesis that Mark had seen the Logia, as by any other; four passages, viz. 4, 5, 6, 10, are of a character which militates strongly against that view, and the rest contain nothing which suggests it as the explanation of the phenomena they present. To assume, therefore, that Mark saw the Logia used by Matthew and Luke in the portions common to them is a useless hypothesis for the solution of the Synoptic problem.

That Mark xvi. 9-20 is the work of another hand than that which compiled the rest of the second Gospel was elaborately proved by Dr. Hort,<sup>1</sup> and since his article was written additional evidence has come to light from the circumstance that the 'Old Syriac' version represented by the Sinaitic MS. omits these verses, and some hint of the author of them has been forthcoming in the shape of an interesting note in an Armenian MS., ascribing them to the elder Aristion.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> W. H., *Notes on Select Readings*, pp. 29-51, ed. 1882.

<sup>2</sup> Kenyon, *Bible and Ancient MSS.*, pp. 157, 161, ed. 1895. Swete. *St. Mark*, Introd., § xi. pp. ciii.-cxiii.

Result :  
the second  
Gospel  
owes no-  
thing to the  
sources of  
the Dual  
Tradition.

Was the  
lost con-  
clusion of  
Mark be-  
fore the  
eyes of the  
other Syn-  
optists?

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Dr. Hort's conclusions with regard to this particular point have been accepted by the majority of textual critics, nor is it proposed to dispute them here. Accepting, however, not only them, but the theory of a 'foundation document' behind the three Gospels, to which the second bears the closest resemblance, the question confronts us whether this document, like the original Mark, so far as we know, ended with the account of the flight of the holy women from the sepulchre (Mark xvi. 8), and if not, whether the portion of it omitted from the second Gospel was, or was not, before the authors of the first and third. Supposing the theory advanced in these pages to be correct, it is absolutely incredible that a document used as the basis of oral instructions on the facts of our Lord's life in an important centre of Christian activity should contain no account of those appearances of the Risen Christ which attested what all the evidence combines to point out as the mainspring of the Christian hope from the first. If the second Gospel never contained a record of these events, the cause must have been some sudden and unexpected interruption of the Evangelist's labours. For some reason he was unable to use the materials which lay before him. He had not time or opportunity even to finish his sentence. His Gospel concluded with words, *ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ*, which are utterly inadmissible as the designed conclusion of any literary composition. It is more attractive to believe that the passage which followed Mark xvi. 8 disappeared

accidentally, through the loss of the final page, as Dr. Hort suggests, although this explanation labours under the difficulty that, if the archetype was written on a roll of papyrus, as is most probable, the last words would have been normally in the safest position of all, on the inside of the roll. It must have been rolled up carelessly before being torn away.

Yet allowing this to have been the case with the archetype of the second Gospel, it can hardly have been so with the foundation document if used in the way which has been suggested in these pages. We should therefore expect to find some tokens of the use of this missing portion in the other Gospels which are in part based on this foundation document.

The general conclusion of Continental critics is that the first and third Gospels drew entirely from other sources for the appearances of the Risen Christ. In England, although there has been agreement with this view as regards the third Gospel, opinion has been much more divided with respect to the first. Very possibly the appearances narrated in the foundation document did not suit the purposes of the preacher whose extracts were used by Luke. We can, to some extent, imagine the character of the record from the anticipations of it contained in the second Gospel. We have the clearest intimations from our Lord's lips that after three days He should rise again, combined on one occasion (Mark xiv. 28) with the statement that after His resurrection He would go before the disciples

Continental  
critics  
answer in  
the nega-  
tive.

English  
critics  
divided as  
regards the  
first  
Gospel.

into Galilee. Then we have the appearance of the angel to the holy women on the morning of the third day, and his declaration that what our Lord had foretold had come to pass. He was risen, the tomb was empty, and the charge was laid upon them to tell the disciples, and to bid them go into Galilee, where they should see Him. Evidently some account of an appearance to the Apostles in Galilee was to follow, but not necessarily an appearance to others besides the Eleven, or the charge to preach the Gospel to all nations.

But further, it seems to be implied that the women did not carry out their commission. 'They said nothing to any one for they were afraid.' By some other means the Apostles became aware of the stupendous event which had taken place, presumably by an appearance vouchsafed to one or more at Jerusalem, say St. Peter or St. John, or to the Eleven assembled in the upper room. Now such an appearance to the Eleven is found in Luke xxiv. 36-42, and as the account in this Gospel is drawn from various sources, it is possible that this particular part of it may be derived from the foundation document.

Possible  
that the  
appearance  
of Jesus to  
the Eleven  
in third  
Gospel is  
from this  
source.

More likely  
that the  
meeting in  
Galilee,  
spoken of  
in first  
Gospel,  
came  
thence.

On the other hand, it seems more likely that the account of the terror of the women was intended to pave the way for some wonderful event which turned it into joy. Such we have in the first Gospel, where Jesus appears to them, arresting their panic-stricken flight, and repeating to them the injunction of the

angel which they had been too frightened to carry out. That at first they said nothing to any man may well be a graphic Marcan touch of the kind which in the other Synoptics rarely makes its appearance. Then too the promised meeting in Galilee finds its record in the first Gospel. If this was taken from the foundation document we may believe that the evangelic command, without which the meeting in Galilee, as recorded by Matthew, would be meaningless, found a place there. Some floating tradition to that effect may have led whoever first supplemented the mutilated second Gospel with 'Aristion's' account of the appearances of the Risen Lord, to make choice of a document in which this command takes such a prominent position. On the whole, we may conclude that if the original ending lay before both the first and third Synoptists, they certainly mixed it with matter drawn from other sources. It is, however, most probable that the author of the first Gospel made use of it, not so the author of the third.



## VI

PROBABLE AUTHORSHIP AND DATE OF THE  
'FOUNDATION DOCUMENT'

Authorship  
and date  
of second  
Gospel.

Names of  
John Mark.

WE have seen reason to suppose that not our second Gospel, but a record closely resembling it, was known, more or less, to the authors of the first and third. Can we point with any probability to the author or the date of this foundation document? The first step must be to settle these points, if possible, as regards the second Gospel. This record has ever been known in the Church as the Gospel according to St. Mark. One of the less prominent characters which appear in the Acts of the Apostles is a certain John Mark. His very name is an indication of his race, and gives some hint of the direction in which his sympathies might be supposed to lie. His first name, John (יוחנן), 'Jehovah is gracious,' is an epitome of the Old Testament message. It proclaims the man of Jewish blood. The second, Mark (Marcus), comes to him from Rome. It is his alternative name,<sup>1</sup> the name by which he is known in his dealings with Gentiles, while among his fellow-countrymen he retains his birthname of John.

<sup>1</sup> See Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen*, ch. iv. § 4, pp. 81-83.

The language of the Acts has been thought to indicate that the name was given him when he left his native land to travel in other countries.<sup>1</sup> The combination of names suggests the Hellenistic Jew, emancipated from the narrow conceptions and prejudices of the 'Hebrews,' *i.e.* of those who, retaining many of the exclusive ideas of the strictest among the unconverted Jews in Palestine, formed the least progressive element of the Church in Jerusalem.<sup>2</sup>

His history bears out these indications. The house of his mother Mary was one of the chief meeting-places of the Church in Jerusalem. To it St. Peter directed his steps after his miraculous deliverance from prison. In connection with this incident we have the first mention of the name John Mark, and it is noteworthy that Christian tradition has ever associated St. Mark's Gospel with the preaching of St. Peter. This John Mark is also found in close association with St. Barnabas, a typically Hellenistic Jew, born in Cyprus, and at one time owning landed property there. He accompanied St. Barnabas and St. Paul on their first missionary journey, in the capacity of 'attendant' (*ὑπηρέτης*), as far as Perga in Pamphylia. We can hardly suppose that his 'attendance' was personal so much as ministerial. He might indeed write St. Paul's letters for him, as Tertius wrote the Epistle to the Romans, and probably Sosthenes, Silvanus, and Timotheus those to

History of  
John Mark  
in the Acts.

Acts xii. 12.

Acts iv. 36.

Acts xiii.  
13.

Rom. xvi.  
22.

<sup>1</sup> Rackham, *Acts*, Div. iii. sect. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Edersheim, *Life and Times*, Bk. i. ch. i. p. 6 f. ; ch. ii. pp. 17-19.

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the Corinthians, the Philippians, the Colossians, and the Thessalonians. In other respects, so far was the Apostle from requiring an attendant that he was accustomed himself to minister to his own bodily needs, and *Acts xx. 34.* to those of his companions. More likely is it that John Mark had his share in the sacred duties of the missionaries,<sup>1</sup> the difference being that he was under the orders of the two elder men, and rather extended the usefulness of their ministry than initiated any work on his own account. It is attractive to believe that one of his duties was to instruct more fully those who had been impressed by the preaching of the Apostles in the historical facts upon which that preaching was based. This is the more likely to have been the case if, as has been suggested, the work of baptizing converts was usually committed to the 'attendant,'<sup>2</sup> for from the first baptism must have required a profession of faith.

The first missionary venture of John Mark was, for some unexplained reason, soon ended. He left his companions to continue their journey and himself returned to Jerusalem. Here we lose sight of him for a period of from two to five years.<sup>3</sup> He was then

<sup>1</sup> This view of the position of John Mark is borne out by the usage of the word *ὑπηρέτης* as a subordinate official, lictor, herald, apparitor, etc. See Trench, *Synonyms*, § ix. p. 34.

<sup>2</sup> Rackham, *Acts*, Pt. II. div. i. § 1.

<sup>3</sup> Two years, A.D. 46-48, Rackham, *Acts*, lxvii. Three years, A.D. 47-50, Ramsay, *St. Paul*, etc., Chron. Index, p. 395. Five years, Cambridge *Helps*, Chron. Tables. Probably the shortest period is correct. It

ready to accompany his former companions on a second missionary journey, but his previous abandonment of them, whether justifiable or not, had robbed him of the confidence of St. Paul. The upshot of the controversy between the two Apostles on this subject was that their association in missionary work with each other was broken up, and they went different ways each to the country of his birth: St. Paul to Syria and Cilicia in company with Silas, St. Barnabas and John Mark to Cyprus. Acts xv. 37-41.

Of John Mark's subsequent history we have only scattered notices in the New Testament. They significantly connect his ministry with the city of Rome, the place where Christian tradition has it that the second Gospel was written. We find him, some ten years after the separation, once more in the confidence of St. Paul during that Apostle's first imprisonment at Rome. One Mark had planned a journey to Asia which would probably include a visit to Colossae, and in the meantime sent his salutation to the Church in that city, and to Philemon, a prominent Christian resident there. It can hardly be doubted that this Mark is the same as the John Mark of the Acts, for he is designated in the Epistle to the Colossians 'cousin' (*ἀνέψιμος*) of Barnabas.<sup>1</sup> The relationship sheds a flood of light on the story of Other notices of John Mark in New Testament; later connection with St. Paul. Col. iv. 10. Philemon 24.

depends on whether the Eusebian Chronicles, which put the procuratorship of Porcius Festus in the second year of Nero, are to be trusted, and, if trusted, how they are to be understood. See Rackham, *Acts*, lxvi.

<sup>1</sup> Lightfoot, *Col.*, l.c.

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the 'attendant' of the Apostles as we find it in the Acts.

2 Tim. iv.  
11.

Once more, shortly before the close of his own life, St. Paul has occasion to mention the name of Mark. Writing to recall Timothy to his side, St. Paul bids him 'catch up' (*ἀναλαβών*) Mark, who must therefore have been either where Timothy was,<sup>1</sup> or at some place on his route to Rome, and to bring him with him, inasmuch as he had already proved himself a useful assistant to the imprisoned Apostle.

Later con-  
nection  
with St.  
Peter.  
1 Peter  
v. 13.

Yet once again the name of Mark occurs, and this time from the pen of St. Peter: 'The co-elect in Babylon saluteth you, and Mark my son.' The term of affection, 'my son,' need not be literally taken. It is a natural way for a spiritual leader, full of the wisdom which springs from thought and prayer, and of the experience and authority conferred by age, to speak of a young, enthusiastic, and reverent companion. The term 'co-elect,' which probably refers to the local Church, need not detain us. But where is Babylon, the place from which St. Peter writes? Three places bore that name. There was the great city on the Euphrates. But it is hardly likely to be the place mentioned here. Apart from this passage, there is no

The three  
Babylons.

<sup>1</sup> Were St. Timothy and Mark together at Ephesus? Ellicott, comparing 2 Tim. i. 15 f. with ii. 17 and iv. 19, decides doubtfully in the affirmative. I feel that iv. 12, *Τυχικὸν δὲ ἀπέστειλα εἰς Ἐφεσον*, reads unnaturally if the letter were addressed to one actually in Ephesus, or if Tychicus were going to the place whence Mark was coming.

early tradition of St. Peter having laboured in those parts. Moreover, the epistle shows traces of acquaintanceship with two of St. Paul's epistles—that to the Romans, and that to the Ephesians, the latter of which was written not earlier than A.D. 58. At that date, however, there was no Jewish community in Babylon, for we learn from Josephus (*Ant.* xviii. 9) that in the reign of Caligula (A.D. 37-41), in consequence of persecution, the Jews had removed from Babylon to Seleucia, where they fell victims to Gentile hatred to the number of 50,000. Even the Gentile city of Babylon is represented by Strabo (p. 738) as to a large extent desert. A decaying city of the Gentiles forsaken by the Jewish community was a most unlikely place for the Apostle to make a centre of missionary labours. Babylon must be looked for elsewhere.<sup>1</sup>

Another Babylon, a Roman fortress,<sup>2</sup> occupying what is now the site of old Cairo, has, at first sight, in its favour the tradition of St. Mark's labours in Alexandria. But that very tradition excludes St. Peter from Egypt. St. Mark is the founder of the Alexandrian Church,<sup>3</sup> to which he is sent from Rome by St. Peter.<sup>4</sup>

The third Babylon is that mentioned no less than seven times in the Apocalypse. It is a mystic name for Rome given, not for the first time, by the seer of Patmos. He borrowed a term already current, it

Babylon  
a mystic  
name for  
Rome.

<sup>1</sup> Salmon, *Introd. to N. T.*, p. 462; Lightfoot, *St. Clem.*, vol. ii. p. 492; Swete, *St. Mark*, xxi.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, p. 807.

<sup>3</sup> Euseb., *H. E.*, ii. 16.

<sup>4</sup> Epiph. Haer., li. 6.

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is said, among the Jews,<sup>1</sup> and thereby fell in with a Christian habit which appears to have arisen not later than the time of the Neronian persecution, and to have lasted until Hadrian issued his Rescript to Minucius Fundanus, A.D. 124. Christian writers during that period systematically avoid as far as possible all mention of Rome by name as the seat of a Christian Church.<sup>2</sup> There is no need to suppose that St. Peter borrowed the name Babylon to denote Rome from the Apocalypse. It may well have been current among Christians already, and, if so, the probability is far greater that he used the name in this mystic sense, than that he wrote from either of the two places to which it properly belonged.<sup>3</sup>

St. Peter  
martyred  
at Rome  
in the  
Neronian  
persecu-  
tion.

St. Peter wrote his epistle at a time of persecution.<sup>4</sup> He also suffered martyrdom, and at Rome. The tradition that he suffered there, when it approaches definiteness as to date, places his martyrdom during the Neronian persecution.<sup>5</sup> There are, however, difficulties about that. Bishop Lightfoot thus contrasts

<sup>1</sup> So Lightfoot, *St. Clem.* l.c.; but is the Sibylline Oracle, v. 158, to which he refers, pre-Christian?

<sup>2</sup> See 'The Historical Setting of ii. and iii. John,' in *J. T. S.*, vol. v., No. 20, §9, by Rev. Dom. Chapman.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Hort sees in the order in which the provinces are enumerated, 1 Pet. i. 1, an indication of the route of the letter-carrier from Rome.

<sup>4</sup> 1 Pet. i. 6, 7; ii. 12, 21, 22, 23; iii. 14, 16, 17; iv. 12, 13, 14, 16, 19; v. 6. 9.

<sup>5</sup> That St. Peter suffered martyrdom must be believed by those who accept the genuineness of St. John xxi. 19. That he suffered at Rome seems practically certain from the circumstance, that while a strong



the persecutions of Nero and of Domitian. 'While the persecution of Nero was one fierce and wholesale onslaught in which the passions of the multitude were enlisted on the emperor's side, Domitian, on the other hand, made use of legal forms, and arraigned the Christians from time to time on various paltry charges.'<sup>1</sup> Professor Ramsay following the same conception of the Neronic persecution limits it to Rome, and argues from this limitation and from the circumstance that the First Epistle of St. Peter implies a legal process to which Christians were subjected, as well as from the fact that the very name of Christian was sufficient to ensure condemnation, that the epistle must refer to a later persecution.<sup>2</sup> But it is open to question whether the brief notice of Nero's persecution given by Tacitus quite justifies this conclusion. The historian tells us that the persecution was an attempt on the part of Nero to divert from himself to the Christians the charge of setting fire to Rome. Nevertheless they were convicted, not so much on the charge of arson, as simply because they were the objects of the universal hatred of the human race.'<sup>3</sup> This description exactly

tradition places his martyrdom there, no evidence whatever exists for his having suffered anywhere else. See Tert. Scorp., 15; 1 Clem. vi. 2; Euseb. *H. E.*, ii. 25, 83.

<sup>1</sup> Lightfoot, *St. Clem.*, ii. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Ramsay, *Church in Roman Empire*, p. 284.

<sup>3</sup> Tac. *Ann.*, xv. 44. 'Haud perinde in crimine incendii quam odio humani generis convicti sunt.' Both sense and grammar seem to me better satisfied if 'humani generis' be understood as subjective genitive; sense, because the charge was clearly arson brought home

corresponds to the state of things disclosed in the Acts. There we see the upholders of local cults, persons interested in trades affected by the new religion, and the common people generally, at the instigation of the Jews, repeatedly manifesting their hatred of the Christians. The best commentary on the words of Tacitus is supplied by the Jewish Rabbis of Rome, 'As for this sect, we know that it is everywhere spoken against.' The only restraining power on the passions of the multitude is the orderly government and even-handed justice of the Roman officials when dealing with the religious beliefs of subject races.

Acts xxviii.  
22.

Nero's action removed this restraining power, and the passions of the multitude had full play. It is true that after the terrible spectacle in the Vatican gardens a reaction set in. Pity for the sufferers was aroused, and the violence of the persecution subsided. Nevertheless throughout Nero's reign we can scarcely imagine that the ruling power would admit error to the extent of reverting to its previous attitude. It stood committed to a policy of hostility to the Christians, although instead of the frightful tortures at first applied, the death punishment might be carried out against Christians as against common felons—for provincials the cross, for citizens the sword. The narrative of Tacitus really implies that to the end of

The per-  
secution  
longer and  
wider than  
generally  
supposed.

not by the evidence but by the prevailing unpopularity of the accused ; grammar, because otherwise *odio* should be in the genitive dependent on *crimine*.

Nero's reign Rome was a dangerous place for Christians. Nor are we justified in limiting the persecution to Rome. Tacitus speaks of the provinces—those provinces where, as we find from the Acts, so much hatred of the Christians lurked—as being completely upset by the exactions levied to restore the ruined city.<sup>1</sup> The plundered provincials would certainly be told to whose charge the burning of Rome was laid. Imperial officials would diligently instruct them on this point; nor would they, as before, interpose their authority to shield the Christians from popular rage. It would, in fact, be an unaccountable circumstance if no persecution in the provinces had followed the outburst at Rome. Nor need the lack of records of such a persecution cause surprise. Bishop Lightfoot draws attention to the fact, that with respect to the Bithynian persecution in the reign of Trajan 'with the possible exception of the Neronian outbreak, the most severe of all the persecutions of which we have any knowledge during the first and second centuries, no record whatever was preserved in any Christian sources.'<sup>2</sup> In fact, if Pliny had kept no copies of the letters he wrote we should have known nothing at all of this outbreak. If the First Epistle of St. Peter therefore be supposed to contain the only indication extant of the extension of the Neronian persecution to the provinces, there is nothing incredible

<sup>1</sup> 'Interea conferendis pecuniis pervastata Italia, provinciæ eversæ.' Tac. *Ann.*, *l.c.*

<sup>2</sup> Lightfoot, *St. Ignatius*, vol. i. p. 17 f.

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in that. It follows, however, that the Apostle cannot have perished in the first outbreak at Rome.

Date of  
St. Peter's  
martyr-  
dom.

St. Peter's martyrdom must accordingly be dated not earlier than the close of A.D. 65. In or about that year the Apostle and one whom he calls 'Mark my son' were in Rome together. There are reasons for supposing that St. Paul's Epistle to the Colossians was written towards the close of his two years' imprisonment, *i.e.* not earlier than A.D. 60.<sup>1</sup> John Mark was with St. Paul in Rome at that time; a certain Mark was with St. Peter in the same city some five years later. Remembering St. Peter's old friendship with the mother of John Mark, there seems to be some perversity in refusing to believe the universal tradition of the Church that the Mark who was with St. Peter in Rome was none other than the John Mark of the Acts.

Mark with  
him at the  
end.

The his-  
tory con-  
jecturally  
restored.

The history of those years may be conjecturally restored somewhat as follows. John Mark stayed in Rome after St. Paul's release, and was there when St. Peter arrived. They remained concealed during the first outbreak of the Neronian persecution, and busied themselves, as soon as possible, in sustaining and keeping together the panic-stricken Church. At last, however, St. Peter was seized and crucified, and after his martyrdom Mark left the city, making his way to the East. Possibly because he had received tidings

<sup>1</sup> Lightfoot, *Phil.*, p. 30 ; but I have followed Rackham, *Acts*, cxv., as giving the 'terminus a quo.' The absence of any allusion to St. Peter in the Epistles of the first imprisonment makes it improbable that he was in Rome at the time.

of the helpless state of the Roman Church resulting from such repeated blows, St. Paul returned to the city accompanied only by St. Luke. His other companions did not feel called upon to share the risk of this fresh adventure, a circumstance which caused the Apostle soreness of heart. He had not been long there before he too was seized. Feeling the need of friends and helpers he bethought him of two who, not having been in the position to accompany him on his journey, had not failed him, viz. Timothy and Mark. Mark was peculiarly likely to be profitable for service (εὐχρηστος εἰς διακονίαν) if he had been with St. Peter to the last.<sup>1</sup> <sup>2 Tim. iv. 9-11.</sup> Whether or not he arrived in time to be a comfort to his friend before the sword fell on the Ostian way, it is impossible to conjecture. That event would not take place before the end of A.D. 66, and probably later.

Of Mark's subsequent movements we have no certain knowledge. The tradition that he went to Alexandria and founded the Church there cannot be considered established in view of the fact that there is no reference to it in the writings of the fathers of the Alexandrian

<sup>1</sup> Professor Swete, *St. Mark*, Introd. xxii., gives several reasons for believing that the death of St. Paul preceded that of St. Peter. The last of these is based on Professor Ramsay's view of the date of 1 Peter, for which see above, p. 95. With respect to the others, may not the considerations alleged equally hold good if 1 Peter was written when St. Paul was absent from Rome, perhaps lost in the regions of the west (1 Clem. v.) like Livingstone in Africa? May it not have been expedient for the one representative of Apostolic authority in Rome at that season of trial to show that his work was in complete harmony with that of the great Apostle to the Gentiles?

Church.<sup>1</sup> For the same reason, it is uncertain whether or not he received the crown of martyrdom. As with so many servants of God, certain circumstances of his life stand out, certain achievements can be traced to him; the rest is buried in the darkness of the past.

A personal characteristic of John Mark is by some supposed to be preserved in the term 'short-fingered' (κολοβοδάκτυλος) applied to him by Hippolytus (*Philos.* vii. 30). Others, however, see in it a reference to the shortening of his journey at Perga in Pamphylia, while perhaps a more probable view is that the description refers to the work of his fingers—the Gospel attributed to him, so short in comparison with the other three.<sup>2</sup>

External  
witnesses  
to Mark as  
writer of  
the second  
Gospel.

To John Mark, the companion of St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. Barnabas, the ancient tradition of the Church has ascribed the compilation of the second of our Canonical Gospels. The following are the most important witnesses to this belief:—

#### I. PAPIAS, QUOTED BY EUSEBIUS *H. E.*, iii. 39.

Καὶ τοῦθ' ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἔλεγε· Μάρκος μὲν ἑρμηνευ-  
τῆς Πέτρου γενομένος, ὅσα ἐμνημόνευσεν ἀκριβῶς ἔγραψεν,  
οὐ μέντοι τάξει, τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἢ λεχθέντα ἢ πραχ-  
θέντα· οὔτε γὰρ ἤκουσε τοῦ Κυρίου, οὔτε παρηκολούθησεν  
αὐτῷ ὕστερον δὲ, ὡς ἔφην, Πέτρῳ, ὃς πρὸς τὰς χρείας  
ἐποιεῖτο τὰς διδασκαλίας, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὥσπερ σύνταξιν τῶν

<sup>1</sup> Hastings' *D. B.*, Mark, § iv. p. 248.

<sup>2</sup> So the Rev. V. Bartlet, *J. T. S.*, vol. vi. p. 121.

Κυριακῶν ποιούμενος λογίων, ὥστε οὐδὲν ἤμαρτε Μάρκος, οὕτως ἔνια γράψας ὡς ἀπεμνημόνευσεν· ἑνος γὰρ ἐποίησατο πρόνοιαν τοῦ μηδὲν ὧν ἤκουσε παραλιπεῖν ἢ ψέυσασθαί τι ἐν αὐτοῖς.

‘And the elder used to say this—Mark having become Peter’s interpreter wrote down accurately, as far as he remembered what Christ either said or did, not however in order, for he neither heard the Lord nor followed Him, but subsequently, as I said (followed) Peter, who used to suit his instructions to (present) needs, but not by way of making a compilation of the Lord’s oracles; so that Mark made no mistake, thus writing down some things as he remembered them, for of one thing he took good care, viz., neither to leave out any of the things which he heard, nor to set down anything in them incorrectly.’

From the above we gather (1) St. Mark acted as St. Peter’s interpreter. From this it is permissible to infer that St. Peter taught in Aramaic. The fact that his epistles were written in Greek is not fatal to this supposition. Silvanus seems to have written his first epistle, why not as interpreter as well as amanuensis? <sup>1</sup> (2) St. Mark did not write down all St. Peter’s reminiscences, but only what he himself heard and remembered. It is not quite clear whether Μάρκος or Πέτρος is the subject of ἐμνημόνευσεν, but the balance of pro-

<sup>1</sup> This hypothesis will meet one of the many difficulties with regard to the genuineness of 2 Peter, viz. the great difference in style and diction between it and 1 Peter. May it not be the result of employing different interpreters?



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babilities inclines to the former.<sup>1</sup> (3) St. Mark derived his information entirely from St. Peter. (4) St. Mark did not preserve the true historical order of events. It looks as if Papias preferred the sequence of events as related by one of the other Evangelists, and felt it necessary to apologise for St. Mark's lapses from it.<sup>2</sup> (5) St. Mark was not with St. Peter when he wrote the Gospel. On the other hand, we cannot tell from this extract (1) when or where St. Mark acted as St. Peter's interpreter; (2) when or where the Gospel was written.

Of Papias Bishop Lightfoot concludes that—(1) he was a hearer of at least two personal disciples of our Lord, Aristion and the presbyter John;<sup>3</sup> (2) he was acquainted with the daughters of Philip, either the Apostle or the Evangelist; (3) he was a companion, probably senior, of Polycarp; (4) he was probably born c. A.D. 60-70; (5) his *Expositions of the Oracles of Our Lord* was written c. A.D. 130-140.<sup>4</sup> It is from this work that the extract is taken.<sup>5</sup>

It has been questioned by Schleiermacher and others, but without good reason, whether the work referred to

<sup>1</sup> So Lightfoot, *Sup. Religion*, p. 64. Dr. Wright, on the other hand, regards *Πέτρος* as the subject.

<sup>2</sup> The comparison is generally supposed to be between Mark and the other Synoptics. However, Wernle, *Syn. Frage*, p. 207, regards Papias' informant as one moving in Johannine circles, who would be more likely to compare Mark's order with John's.

<sup>3</sup> Professor Stanton, however, doubts whether this is more than a possibly incorrect inference of Eusebius, *The Gospels as Historical Documents*, vol. i. p. 169.

<sup>4</sup> Stanton gives A.D. 140-150. *Gospels*, etc., p. 52.

<sup>5</sup> Lightfoot, *Sup. Religion*, p. 149 f.

by Papias was our Gospel according to St. Mark. For to dispute this 'we must suppose that two different books were current under the same name in the times of Papias and Irenaeus—that in the interval, which was less than fifty years, the older document had passed entirely into oblivion, or at least wholly lost its first title—that this substitution of one book for the other was so secret that there is not the slightest trace of the time, the motive, the mode of its accomplishment, and so complete that Irenaeus, Tertullian, Clement, Origen, and Eusebius applied to the later Gospel what was really only true of that which it had replaced.'<sup>1</sup>

## II. IRENAEUS, *Haer.* III. i. 1.

Non enim per alios dispositionem salutis nostrae cognovimus, quam per eos per quos Evangelium pervenit ad nos; quod quidem tunc praeconaverunt, postea vero per Dei voluntatem in Scripturis nobis tradiderunt, fundamentum et columnam fidei nostrae futurum . . . ὁ μὲν δὴ Ματθαῖος ἐν τοῖς Ἑβραίοις τῇ ἰδίᾳ διαλέκτῳ αὐτῶν καὶ γραφὴν ἐξηνέγκεν εὐαγγελίου, τοῦ Πέτρου καὶ τοῦ Παύλου ἐν Ῥώμῃ εὐαγγελιζομένων καὶ θεμελιούντων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τούτων ἔξοδον, Μάρκος ὁ μαθητὴς, καὶ ἐρμηνευτὴς Πέτρου, καὶ

<sup>1</sup> Westcott, *Canon of the New Test.*, Part i. chap. ii. p. 75. See also Lightfoot, *Sup. Religion*, p. 163 ff. Stanton, *Gospels*, etc., p. 53, remarks: 'In regard to these points apologists have succeeded in making good their position.' In Hastings' *D. B.*, vol. ii. 'Gospels,' p. 235, the same writer appears less sure of this.

αὐτὸς τὰ ὑπὸ Πέτρου κηρυσσόμενα ἐγγράφως ἡμῖν παραδέδωκε. Καὶ Λουκᾶς δέ, ὁ ἀκόλουθος Παύλου, τὸ ὑπ' ἐκείνου κηρυσσόμενον εὐαγγέλιον ἐν βιβλίῳ κατέθετο. Ἐπειτα Ἰωάννης ὁ μαθητὴς τοῦ Κυρίου, ὁ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ στήθος αὐτοῦ ἀναπесών, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξέδωκε τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, ἐν Ἐφέσῳ τῆς Ἀσίας διατρίβων.

*Haer. ii. 6.*

Marcus interpretes et sectator Petri initium evangelicæ conscriptionis fecit sic: Initium Evangelii Jesu Christi Filii Dei.

‘For from none others do we know the plan of our salvation than from those through whom the Gospel came to us, which at first indeed they preached, but afterwards by the Will of God handed down to us in the Scriptures to be the foundation and pillar of our faith. . . . Matthew among the Hebrews in their own language also (as well as preaching) published a written gospel, while Peter and Paul were preaching and founding the Church in Rome. And after their death, Mark the disciple and interpreter of Peter—he too has handed down to us in writing what Peter used to preach. And Luke also, the follower of Paul, set down in a book the Gospel preached by him. Afterwards John, the Lord’s disciple, who also reclined upon His breast—he too put forth his Gospel while residing at Ephesus in Asia.’

‘Mark, the interpreter and follower of Peter, thus

began to write his Gospel, 'The beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God,' etc.

St. Irenaeus assures us by these passages that his St. Mark is ours. He further implies that the preaching of Peter which Mark recorded was delivered at Rome. The terms in which he describes St. Mark's relation to St. Peter so closely resemble those employed by Papias, that there seems good reason to believe that Papias was the source of his information. These additional facts therefore could probably be gathered from the *Expositions* of that author. Irenaeus has been very generally supposed to have also given us an indication of the time when our second Gospel was written, viz. after the death of the two Apostles. But if we consider the point of his argument it will be seen that this is by no means clear. The heretics, according to Irenaeus, set aside the testimony of Scripture. What then is Scripture? Scripture is nothing else than the written record of the preaching of Apostles and eye-witnesses of Jesus Christ. Accordingly we are told how St. Matthew both preached and wrote his Gospel in Hebrew. SS. Peter and Paul preached in Rome, and what they preached is known to us still after their death, for Mark has handed down (*παράδεδωκε*) to us the teaching of Peter, and Luke wrote down that of Paul. John, so eminently qualified for the task by his close companionship with our Lord, wrote his Gospel at Ephesus. The point throughout is not the time or place of writing, but the accurate preservation of the

apostolic tradition. It is precarious in view of this to insist that *μετὰ τὴν τούτων ἔξοδον* refers to the time when Mark wrote. It may just as well emphasise the fact that 'they being dead yet speak,' through the written Gospel, and with this interpretation agrees the perfect tense employed to denote the action of St Mark.<sup>1</sup> St. Irenaeus wrote c. A.D. 190.

### III. TERTULLIAN, *adv. Marc.* iv. 5.

'Licet et Marcus quod edidit Petri affirmetur cujus interpres Marcus.' 'And what Mark published may be said to be Peter's, whose interpreter Mark was.' Tert. c. A.D. 200 repeats the argument of Irenaeus, but adds nothing to our information.

### IV. ST. CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA AP. EUSEB.

*H. E.* vi. 14.

Αὐθις δὲ . . . ὁ Κλήμης . . . παράδοσιν τῶν ἀνέκαθεν πρεσβυτέρων τέθειται, τοῦτον ἔχουσαν τὸν τρόπον, προγεγράφθαι τῶν Ἐυαγγελίων περιέχοντα τὰς γενεαλογίας· τὸ δὲ κατὰ Μάρκον ταύτην ἐσχηκέναι τὴν οἰκονομίαν. Τοῦ Πέτρου δημοσίᾳ ἐν Ῥώμῃ κηρύξαντος τὸν λόγον, καὶ Πνεύματι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἐξειπόντος, τοὺς παρόντας πολλοὺς ὄντας παρακαλέσαι τὸν Μάρκον, ὡς ἂν ἀκολουθήσαντα αὐτῷ πόρρωθεν καὶ μεμνημένον τῶν λεχθέντων ἀναγράψαι τὰ εἰρημένα· ποιήσαντα δὲ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον μεταδοῦναι τοῖς δεομένοις αὐτοῦ. "Οπερ

<sup>1</sup> See Rev. J. Chapman on *St. Irenaeus on the Dates of the Gospels*, *J. T. S.*, vol. vi. 24.

ἐπιγόνοντα τὸν Πέτρον, προτρεπτικῶς μήτε κωλύσαι μήτε προτρέψασθαι.

‘And again . . . Clement . . . has set down a tradition of the primitive elders of this sort—that the parts containing the genealogies were written before the Gospels, and that the Gospel according to St. Mark had this origin—when Peter was publicly preaching the Word in Rome and, through the Spirit, proclaiming the Gospel, those who were present, being many, exhorted Mark, as one who had followed him long and remembered what he spake, to write his sayings down. And having composed his Gospel he gave it to those who asked him for it. And Peter, when he knew of it, was anxious neither to hinder nor to encourage him.’

CLEM. ALEX., *Adumbr. in 1 Pet.* v. 13.

Marcus, Petri sectator, palam praedicante Petro Evangelium Romae coram quibusdam Caesarianis equitibus, et multa Christi testimonia praeferente, petitus ab iis, ut possent quae dicebantur memoriae commendare, scripsit ex his, quae Petro dicta sunt, Evangelium quod secundum Marcum vocitatur.

‘When Peter was publicly preaching the Gospel at Rome in the presence of certain knights of the imperial guard, and producing many testimonies for Christ, Mark, the follower of Peter, being requested by them for means whereby to commit to memory what was being said, wrote from the sayings of Peter the Gospel which bears the name of that according to Mark.’

V. ORIGEN AP. EUSEB. *H. E.* vi. 25.

*δεύτερον δὲ τὸ κατὰ Μάρκον, ὡς Πέτρος ὑφηγήσατο αὐτῷ, ποιήσαντα.*

‘And the second Gospel is that according to Mark, who composed it according as Peter narrated it to him.’

According to the Alexandrine tradition, we get the following distinct assertions: (1) The Gospel was composed by Mark at the request of St. Peter’s Roman congregation. (2) It was composed during the lifetime of the Apostle. Further, St. Clement asserts that St. Peter had no direct share in its production. Origen, on the other hand, implies that he had.

The important points in the ancient external testimony to St. Mark’s Gospel appear to be these: (1) St. Mark was the interpreter of St. Peter; according to one statement he occupied this position for a long time. (2) He recorded his reminiscences of the public teaching of the Apostle. (3) This teaching was given at Rome. (4) Where any distinct indication of the time of composition is given, it is asserted to have been in the lifetime of St. Peter. (5) The Gospel was written at Rome.

How does this evidence agree with the known history of St. Mark and St. Peter?

The questions arise—how far can this evidence be reconciled with what is known of the relationship subsisting between the two, and with the internal evidence contained in the Gospel, or obtained by com-



parison with other Gospels, of the method of composition followed by the writer?

We have seen that St. Peter and St. Mark were at Rome together during the Neronian persecution. Their companionship at this time might have lasted four or five years, A.D. 60-65, quite long enough, especially under the circumstances of stress and trial to which they were subjected, to establish between them the bond of parental and filial affection to which St. Peter gives expression in the words 'Mark my son'; long enough also for the composition of the Gospel.

Something may be said in favour of St. Peter's presence in Rome at a very early date. While a twenty-five years' continuous residence there is clearly inadmissible in view of the narrative of the Acts, the expressions in St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans and the silence of the rest of the New Testament, yet the early appearance and the strength of the tradition are facts which cannot be lightly passed over. The Liberian Catalogue of the Bishops of Rome, in which this tradition appears, and of which the earliest form was traced by Du Cange and accepted by Bishop Lightfoot and others as from the pen of Hippolytus of Portus, was written on this hypothesis, c. A.D. 234.<sup>1</sup> Hippolytus was no bigoted upholder of Papal claims, rather the reverse. The tradition must have been well established in his day. Is it fanciful to suggest that the basis of fact on which it rests is the presence

They were together in the Neronian persecution.

St. Peter may have been at Rome before.

<sup>1</sup> Lightfoot, *St. Clem.*, vol. i. pp. 258-261.

of St. Peter at Rome some twenty years before he was martyred there? The language of the Epistle to the Romans implies the presence in that city of such a considerable body of Christians that it is almost inconceivable that there should have been no Apostolic supervision of them before the writer was brought there a prisoner. Bishop Lightfoot, indeed, considers that the language of Rom. xv. 20-24 precludes such a supposition.<sup>1</sup> There are scholars, however, who incline to the opposite view.<sup>2</sup> They represent the Apostle as laying down his general rule not to build on another man's foundation, in pursuance of which he intends to open fresh ground in Spain. The circumstances and opportunities, however, of the Roman Church are so unique, that he cannot but yield to his intense desire to visit it on his way thither. He is in fact infringing his rule in consequence of special circumstances. But if we are to admit that another Apostle preceded St. Paul in Rome, tradition leaves us no choice as to which of them it was. It could be none other than St. Peter. Then, supposing St. Peter to have been martyred in Rome A.D. 65, the earliest date when we can find room for such a visit would be A.D. 43, at which period we may pretty confidently place his imprisonment by Herod and subsequent departure to 'another place.' But these possibilities do not provide for early co-operation in Rome on the part of St. Peter and St.

<sup>1</sup> Lightfoot, *St. Clem.*, vol. i. p. 491.

<sup>2</sup> Liddon, *Ep. to the Rom.*, pp. 286-289; Rackham, *Acts*, xii. 17.

## ST. PETER AND ST. MARK AT JERUSALEM 111

Mark. In A.D. 48 St. Peter is back at Jerusalem, and between these dates St. Mark has been with SS. Barnabas and Paul on their first missionary journey, and has returned to Jerusalem, whence he seems to have gone from the Council held there to Antioch. After that, probably in the latter part of A.D. 48, he accompanied his relative St. Barnabas to Cyprus. From A.D. 50 to 65 there is plenty of time for such co-operation, albeit when we hear of the Roman Church at intervals during this period St. Peter is not there.

The early co-operation of these two in Rome, although not impossible, is therefore on the whole improbable, and the period of composition of our second Gospel is best placed, in accordance with existing evidence, between the years A.D. 60-65.

Early co-operation between St. Peter and St. Mark at Rome improbable.

Such co-operation, however, may well be presumed to have occurred in Jerusalem during the period from the descent of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost to Herod's persecution, A.D. 43. If St. Mark's mother was so prominent a person in the infant Church there, that her house was the meeting-place at which St. Peter might expect to find his brethren interceding for him in his time of peril, St. Mark himself would be known to the Apostle. From what we know of St. Peter's character we may be sure that none of the Apostles would take a more prominent position in the instruction of inquirers than he. We have already seen reason to believe that St. Mark's Gospel was virtually a reproduction of an older foundation document drawn

But almost certainly took place at Jerusalem.

The founda-  
tion docu-  
ment as  
well as our  
second  
Gospel the  
work of  
St. Mark.

up to form the basis of oral instruction in the facts of our Lord's life at some early centre of Christian activity. It has been, moreover, suggested that round such a nucleus other stories, drawn from the reminiscences of other disciples, would soon gather. But if in the meantime the original compiler had betaken himself to a life of travel, might he not take his story with him, using it perhaps as the basis of his own catechetical instructions? And then his early association with St. Peter was renewed in Rome, and in the more literary atmosphere of the capital he was inspired with the idea of revising his MS. and publishing it for the benefit of the Roman Church. In the meantime the supplemented copies circulating at Jerusalem combined in various ways with St. Matthew's 'Logia,' or book of the 'oracles' of our Lord, to form the basis of the other two Synoptic records.

## VII

THE UNIQUE IMPORTANCE OF THE MARCAN TRADITION  
AND ITS MAIN CHARACTERISTICS

IF it be the case that our St. Mark's Gospel was written at Rome during the lifetime of St. Peter, and while St. Mark was in his company, then it follows that this record is all but an account of an eye-witness of our Lord's earthly life. This cannot be predicated to the same extent of the first and third Gospels. The author of the third Gospel almost seems to imply that he relied for his information more or less on documents written by others. The first Gospel, indeed, bears the name of an Apostle, but we have already seen to what a large extent both he and the author of the third derive matter, order of incidents, and even language, from the foundation document to which our second Gospel bears the closest resemblance, which, indeed, is the germ from which that Gospel grew. The strong and unwavering tradition that St. Matthew composed his Gospel in 'Hebrew,' renders it highly improbable that even the non-Marcian matter contained in the first Gospel was written, as we have it now, by the Apostle St. Matthew; and if it were, it is impossible to suppose

The second Gospel all but the work of an eye-witness.

Not so with the first and third Gospels.

that he would combine it with St. Mark's record, transcribing the very words of St. Peter's interpreter, even in narrating incidents at which he was present as an eye-witness. St. Mark's Gospel and that ascribed to St. John possess an altogether peculiar authority, on the supposition that the latter was actually written by the Apostle whose name it bears. If irreconcilable discrepancies occur between the second Gospel and the first or third, the witness of the second is to be preferred. Even where St. John comes into conflict with St. Mark, the authority of the Apostle is not so greatly superior to that of the recorder of St. Peter's reminiscences. This would seem to be a condition of things where the 'harmonist's' methods, discredited though they have sometimes been by forced and unnatural attempts to reconcile apparently conflicting statements, may be welcomed. Nevertheless one or two preliminary considerations are not out of place. St. John, according to the universal tradition, wrote his Gospel in extreme old age. The Lord's teaching, indeed, was burnt in upon his mind; his recollection of the impression made upon him by the Personality of his Master was clear and ineffaceable, but it is permissible to think that a process of unconscious accommodation of the incidents as regards their order and the circumstances under which they took place to the teaching which they illustrated may have set in during the lapse of years, and that some of the minor details of the story may have slipped his memory. The different tempera-

St. Mark's and St. John's Gospels have the greater authority.

In case of discrepancies between second and fourth Gospels, the harmonist may well be called in.

St. John's extreme old age and disabilities attaching to it.

ments of the writers, and the different classes of readers for whom the records were intended, would also tend to produce apparently divergent testimony. The second Gospel bears the impress of a keen and practical mind, for which the movement of life and outward effects of action would have the keenest interest. The fourth Gospel is the work of a meditative and introspective nature which tended to give prominence to the revelation in teaching of transcendent spiritual truths, and to make all the details of incident subordinate to this aim. Again, if the view is right which has been set forth in these pages, the class of hearers for whose instruction the foundation document was drawn up was that of recent converts to Christianity among the Jews, and the aim of St. Mark when he rewrote it into our second Gospel was to adapt it to the needs of similar persons among the Gentiles. The fourth Gospel, on the other hand, was drawn up to provide an historical basis for the deeper teaching current in thoughtful circles of a comparatively long settled and organised Christian community. When these facts are born in mind, it will be felt that as far as authority goes there is not much to choose between the two Gospels, and moreover, that it would hardly be strange if divergencies, at this distance of time irreconcilable, were not infrequent.

Yet, as a matter of fact, it is doubtful if there are any which are not susceptible of a natural explanation. Take, for example, that to which many critics point as abso-

The different temperaments of the writers.

Difference of readers.

Probably all alleged discrepancies may be reconciled.



An  
instance.

lutely inexplicable—the apparent difference between the chronology of the Crucifixion as given by St. John, and that found in the Synoptic Gospels and based on St. Mark. According to St. John, the day of Crucifixion was 14th Nisan, and our Lord died at the very time when the slaughter of the Paschal Lamb was going on in the Temple Courts. The Synoptists seem to place the Last Supper on that day, and the Crucifixion therefore on the first day of the Feast. But, on the other hand, it has been well pointed out that the details given by St. Mark of what took place on the day of Crucifixion—the gathering of the Sanhedrim, the pronouncing of judgment, the dealings between the priests and the Roman Governor, the incident of Simon of Cyrene coming into Jerusalem, apparently from his work, the presence of the high priests at Calvary, the burial by Joseph of Arimathea, a member of the Sanhedrim—are all utterly inconsistent with the view that the day was that high festival, always observed with the greatest Sabbatical strictness, the 15th Nisan. Thus, if there be an irreconcilable divergency, it is not between St. John and St. Mark, but between different passages of the second Gospel. St. John's clear and coherent account of the course of events raises the suspicion that he was designedly correcting a false impression produced on Gentile readers by the Synoptic records—an impression which, probably, the first hearers of the lessons based on the foundation document of St. Mark ran no risk of receiving. Is it a forced and unnatural

use of 'harmonistic' methods to suggest that the Apostles always looked on the 'Last Supper' as their Paschal meal that year, that our Lord intended them to look on it in that light, that for this purpose He conducted it largely in accordance with the recognised Paschal ceremonial, and actually bestowed on it the name of 'this Passover' (Luke xxii. 15), but yet, in the strict and literal sense of the term, it was not the Paschal meal at all? It is at least noteworthy that of the one ingredient of the Feast which it was impossible to obtain before the proper day—the Lamb—there is no mention in any of the records. Had the Lamb been partaken of, can we believe that our Lord would have made no use of its rich typological significance? Now the history of Christian exegesis, both ancient and modern, shows conclusively that no other apparent divergency between the Johannine and Synoptic records has presented so great difficulty to the minds of students as this. If, therefore, the explanation of it given above be felt to be a natural one, we may be sceptical as to whether there are any absolutely irreconcilable divergencies between these two records, notwithstanding the very different way in which the respective Evangelists deal with their subject.

Nevertheless, admitting all that can be urged as regards the unique importance of the fourth Gospel, still the second retains another title to pre-eminence in that being, as we have seen, to all intents and purposes the record of an eye-witness, it is also the earliest

Unique pre-  
eminence  
of second  
Gospel.

account of our Lord's earthly ministry which has come down to us; and the view of our Lord's life and work which it presents was probably that through which the mass of ordinary converts in the first ages accepted Christianity. We shall, therefore, now proceed to consider the more important characteristics of the tradition therein contained.

Character  
of second  
Gospel.

The Marcan tradition is not a biography of our Lord Jesus Christ, but a series of reminiscences of His public ministry. Hence it appropriately begins, not with His birth and childhood, but with the preaching of His forerunner and His own baptism.<sup>1</sup> It exhibits Him in the twofold light of a teacher of great truths and a worker of mighty deeds, but, as compared with other traditions, it greatly emphasises the latter aspect. If the Marcan tradition alone had come down to us, we should have lost much the greater part of our Saviour's oral teaching. Not to mention the Johannine side of His doctrine, the teaching of a Heavenly Father's love lies outside this earliest written tradition, and from the three parables it contains we should have had no conception of the extent to which He resorted to this method of instruction, nor of the depth and variety of the truths He thus set forth. On the other hand, our conception of His active life, as He moved among the people of Galilee, would have been immeasurably poorer

<sup>1</sup> In Hastings' *D. B.*, vol. ii. p. 239, the commencement with the preaching of St. John Baptist is traced to a natural instinct of the teachers whose oral lessons preceded the written Gospels.

without this tradition. The Marcan tradition exhibits the character of our Lord's intercourse with His disciples more fully than any other. It tells of the inner circle consisting of St. Peter and the sons of Zebedee, and not quite so intimately associated with Him as the others, St. Andrew. It reveals to us His tender love for His own; it also manifests, without any softening, as in the other traditions, the stern severity with which at times He reproached them. In the Marcan tradition we not only hear the Saviour's words, we also see His gestures, as nowhere else; we realise that there were times when His very appearance had an awe-inspiring effect upon beholders. If the single tradition of the third Gospel emphasises His wonderfully sympathetic dealings with women, from the Marcan tradition we gather the depth and tenderness of His love of children.

It is unfortunate for those whose aim is to present us with a true Gospel story, which shall be free from what is called the 'miraculous,' that not only is the earliest written record of the Saviour's words and works the fullest of these mighty deeds, in proportion to its length, but that the ablest critics are constrained to confess that it would be impossible to reconstruct from it any hypothetical earlier document which should be free from these elements. In the second Gospel the strange phenomena connected with demoniacal possession obtrude themselves more obstinately than elsewhere; the demon's confession of our Lord's power and

celestial rank occurs four times there, as compared with once in the first Gospel, and three times in the third; these instances in the other Synoptics all being drawn from St. Mark.

In all traditions of our Lord's mighty works the importance of faith, whether on the part of the person healed, or of those interested in him, as normally conditioning his cure is brought forward. It is more emphatically dwelt upon, however, in the Marcan tradition than elsewhere.

Similarly, our Lord's habit of accompanying His acts of healing with some symbolical gesture is more frequently noticed in this tradition, and the use of symbolical accessories, such as spittle, or in the case of the Mission of the Twelve, oil, is almost peculiar to the second Gospel, the only exception being in the fourth Gospel where the water of the Pool of Siloam is so employed.

As in the case of demoniacal possession, so also in a less degree of miracles of healing, the Marcan tradition frequently exhibits our Lord as unwilling to allow the objects of His beneficence to bear public testimony to the benefits they have received. 'The purpose,' says Dr. Swete,<sup>1</sup> 'was to prevent a premature divulgence of His true character.' Dr. Sanday<sup>2</sup> sees in it resistance to the temptation to lower His conduct to the level of the Messiah of popular expectation. Whatever the reason be, it marks the policy of our Lord in dealing

<sup>1</sup> Swete, *Com. on St. Mark*, iii. 12.

<sup>2</sup> *J. T. S.*, vol. v. No. 19.

with those who are not hostile to His claims. Only after the Resurrection are they to be permitted to speak out.

Again we turn to the Marcan tradition to be assured, in plain and unveiled language, that at any rate from the time immediately preceding our Lord's Transfiguration, His approaching death, and the manner of it, as well as His Resurrection, were clearly present to His view.

More than any other, this tradition exhibits Him as very man; it alone hints at any limitation of His knowledge; it alone records the cry of deepest anguish from the Cross.

To sum up in a single phrase, it may be said that for that kind of knowledge of our Lord, which St. Paul in a somewhat depreciatory fashion terms 'to know Christ after the flesh,' there is no authority which can compare with the records of the Marcan tradition. The passage, 2 Cor. v. 16, seems to imply that even the Apostle, though he had now passed to a deeper and truer knowledge of his Divine Master, had at one time found help from this,<sup>1</sup> and whether this were so or not with him, it has certainly proved true of multitudes of less eminent members of the Christian Church.

<sup>1</sup> This is Dean Stanley's view (*com. ad loc. cit.*). Dr. Waite (*Speaker's Com.*) thinks that St. Paul is referring to the prejudiced view of our Lord which he entertained before his conversion.

## VIII

## CHRISTOLOGY OF THE MARCAN TRADITION

IF the character and weight of the Marcan tradition be as in this treatise is maintained, it is evident that the Christology of the second Gospel assumes a position of peculiar importance. What that is the following analysis will, it is hoped, make plain.

## I. THE PERSON OF JESUS CHRIST.

## A. Unique features and characteristics.

## a. His position in relation to God and Man respectively:—

1. He is the Son of God, i. 11, iii. 11, viii. 38, ix. 7, xii. 6, xiv. 61.
2. The title *Kύριος* is ascribed to Him, and once in such a way as to suggest the Divine meaning of that title as used in the LXX. to represent the Tetragrammaton, viz. i. 3. Other instances of the title: v. 19 (?); xi. 3, 9 (?); xii. 36.

Yet, although He accepts and makes use of this designation, He in some sense



regards God as His God, xv. 34; and on one occasion He appears to refuse the ascription of absolute goodness as something which appertains to God alone, x. 18. It must be noted, however, that in this passage the language is ambiguous, and that the Christian Church has not so understood it.

3. He is the Christ, *i.e.* the Messiah, the Anointed One, ix. 41, xiv. 61, xv. 32.
4. As such He is sent by God, ix. 37.
5. The Messianic title of 'the Beloved,' *ὁ ἀγαπητός*, is His, i. 11, xii. 6, ix. 7.<sup>1</sup>
6. He is called *ὁ ἅγιος τοῦ Θεοῦ*, apparently also a Messianic title of later Judaism, i. 24.
7. He is approved of by God, i. 11.
8. He is borne witness to by God, i. 11, ix. 7.
9. And by evil spirits, i. 24, iii. 11, v. 7.

*N.B.*—As regards the testimony of men, it must be remembered that in Galilee, especially, He frequently discourages the public acknowledgment of His Messianic dignity, i. 25, 34, 44; iii. 12; vii. 36; viii. 26-30; ix. 9, 30. But see, on the other hand, v. 19; ix. 39, 41.

10. He advances his Messianic claim in the

<sup>1</sup> See Dean Robinson, *Ephesians*, note on 'The Beloved' as a Messianic title, p. 229.

name by which He so frequently calls Himself, *ὁ υἱος τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*, a name denoting an unique position of God-given authority among men, ii. 10, 28; viii. 31, 38; x. 45; xiii. 26; xiv. 62.

11. As regards the Chosen People, He is their King, xv. 2, 9, 18, 19, 26, 32.
  12. He on one occasion manifested Himself to some of His closest disciples in a situation which not merely suggests a superhuman glory and dignity belonging to Him, but also that it belongs to Him as the fulfilment of Old Testament Scripture—the Law and the Prophets, ix. 2-8.
  13. His triumphant entry into Jerusalem could only be intelligible as a claim to the Messianic title, xi. 1-11; cf. Matt. xxi. 11.
- β. The gifts and endeavours of Jesus Christ as regards this position :—
1. In a special way the Holy Spirit came into and abode in Him, i. 10, 12; iii. 28, 29; xiv. 9.
  2. He had authority from God to forgive sins, ii. 10; cf. Matt. ix. 8.
  3. He had marvellous power over diseased or distressed spirits, ii. 5;—minds, i. 25, 39, iii. 5, 10, v. 25-34, vi. 34, viii. 2, 23-25, x. 52; which extended even to the raising of the dead, v. 41, 42.

4. He had power over the forces of Nature, iv. 35-41, vi. 41, 48, viii. 8; and over the brute creation, v. 13.
5. His teaching was marked by tokens of unprecedented power, i. 22, xi. 8.
6. He was endowed with powers of foresight and prediction to an unprecedented degree, ii. 20; viii. 31; ix. 1, 31; x. 33, 34, 39; xiii. 1-37, xiv. 7, 8, 17-21, 27, 28, 30, 41.

*N.B.*—The fulfilment of many of these predictions fell within the compass of the book—His betrayal, xiv. 18, 43, cf. xiv. 10, 11; His desertion, xiv. 27, cf. xiv. 49; His denial by St. Peter, xiv. 29, 31, cf. xiv. 72; His rejection by the chief priests and elders, xiv. 64, cf. viii. 31, x. 33; His delivery to Pontius Pilate, mocking and insult, xvi. 1, 18-20, cf. x. 33; His Crucifixion, xv. 24, cf. ix. 33, x. 34; His burial, xv. 46, cf. xiv. 8; His Resurrection, xvi. 6, cf. viii. 31, ix. 31, x. 34, xiv. 28; His appearance after Resurrection in Galilee, xiv. 28. The fulfilment of this last does not appear in the existing text, but the way for such a record is clearly prepared by the announcement of the angel, xvi. 7.

7. His very appearance at times struck awe into the beholders, ix. 15, x. 32.

*B.* Characteristics common to Jesus Christ with other men.

*a.* He had relations

1. With the past in a line of descent—that of the royal family of David, x. 47, 48.
2. With the present in the possession of human kindred—a mother, brethren, and sisters, vi. 3.

*β.* He at one time worked for His living, vi. 3.

*γ.* His limitations:

1. Of will—a human will distinct from that of His heavenly Father, xiv. 35.
2. Of knowledge, xiii. 32.
3. Of power—He must rely on help from above, obtained by prayer, i. 35, vi. 46, ix. 29.

*δ.* His experiences:

1. Temptations, i. 12, viii. 33.
2. Bodily suffering, hunger, xi. 12; thirst, xv. 36, 43-45; weariness, iv. 38; betrayal, xiv. 45; arrest and dragging about, xiv. 46, 53; insult, xiv. 65, xv. 9, 17-20, 29, 31, 32; scourging, xv. 15; stripping, xv. 24; crucifixion, xv. 24, xvi. 6; death, xv. 37; burial, xv. 46, 47, xvi. 6.
3. Mental sufferings, disappointment, viii. 12, 17-21; indignation at wrong, iii. 5, x. 14; extremity of dejection, xiv. 33-36, xv. 34.

## II. THE MISSION OF JESUS CHRIST.

## 4. During His life on earth.

## 1. As a moral teacher :

To preach repentance, i. 15, ii. 17 ; faith, ii. 5, iv. 41, v. 34, 36, vi. 6, ix. 19, 23, xi. 23, 24 ; love to God and Man, xii. 29-34 ; simplicity of heart, ix. 35, x. 14 ; reverence for goodness in others, ix. 42 ; whole-hearted loyalty to the Divine commands, iii. 35, ix. 43-50, x. 9 ; self-sacrifice, ix. 35, x. 41 ; a forgiving spirit, xi. 25 ; purity of worship, xi. 17 ; and on the other hand, to denounce the supreme wickedness of hypocrisy, xii. 40.

## 2. As a practical benefactor :

To man's spiritual nature, ii. 5 ; to man's mind, i. 25, 39 ; iii. 11 ; v. 2-17 ; vii. 29, 30 ; ix. 25 ; to man's body, i. 30, 32, 34, 42 ; ii. 11, 12 ; iii. 5, 10 ; v. 25-34, 41, 42 ; vi. 34 ; viii. 2, 23-25 ; x. 52.

## 3. As a religious leader :

Primarily to the Jews, vii. 27, 28 ; but ultimately to all mankind, xiii. 10, xiv. 9.

a. To inaugurate a new condition of things, ii. 21, 22, in which the superiority of spiritual things over temporal should be emphasised, vii. 15-23, viii. 34-38. The tidings of this new condition of things is called good news of God, i. 14, or

the approach of God's Kingdom, i. 15; ix. 1, 47; x. 15, 23, 24, 25; xii. 34; xiv. 25; xv. 43. This Kingdom is realised in the complete dominion of God over the human heart, xii. 32-34, which is a mystery revealed only to the faithful, iv. 11, 12, with an ultimate view to a complete revelation, iv. 21-23; it comes through a word spoken, which must be received and acted upon, iv. 14-20; it has but a small beginning yet is destined to grow to an unparalleled extent, iv. 26-32.

*β.* To train certain individuals to carry on His work, i. 17, 20, iii. 14-19, vi. 7-13; who were to be united with Him in the closest association, sharers in His very Body and Blood, and ultimately to be partakers with Him of the full fruition of the joys of the Kingdom, xiv. 22-25.

*B.* The predicted course of the Mission of Jesus Christ after His earthly life was finished.

1. The Baptist's prediction that He should baptize with the Holy Ghost seems to belong to this class, i. 8; cf. xiii. 11. His ministry should result in the inspiration of His followers.
2. In some sense He should save His followers from death, and this in some way by virtue of His own death, x. 45, xiv. 24, xv. 31.

3. The good news which He brought should be carried to all nations, xiii. 10.
4. In carrying it His followers should encounter tremendous opposition, xiii. 9-13.
5. Terrible and destructive events should happen in the world, xiii. 2, 8, 12, 14-20.
6. But in the end He should appear from heaven in glory, to gather out of all nations His elect, *i.e.* those who should have received His good news, viii. 38; xiii. 26, 27; xiv. 62.
7. These events preceding His coming should take place within the lifetime of that generation, xiii. 30; but the time of the completion of them is an unrevealed mystery, xiii. 32, 33.

### III. EFFECTS OF THE EARTHLY MINISTRY OF JESUS CHRIST

#### 1. Of His mighty works.

Beholders are astounded, i. 27, ii. 12, iv. 41, v. 20, 42; and are moved to bring their sick to Him, or Him to their sick, ii. 3, 4; v. 22, 23; vi. 54-56; vii. 25-28, 32; viii. 22; ix. 17; x. 52. Some are convinced of His power to heal themselves or others, i. 40; ii. 5; iii. 11; v. 23, 26; vi. 56; vii. 26, 32; viii. 22; ix. 24; x. 51; and the measure of their faith is the measure of the blessings received, v. 34, vi. 5, ix. 23.



## 2. Of His teaching.

General amazement at its novelty and authority.

i. 22, xi. 18. Multitudes flocked together to hear Him, i. 37, 45; ii. 2, 13; iii. 7, 8, 20; iv. 1; v. 21; vi. 33; viii. 1, 3; x. 1.

## 3. Of His work as a whole.

His fame spread far and wide, i. 37, 45; ii. 2; iii. 7, 8, 20; iv. 1; v. 20, 21; vi. 14, 33, 55; vii. 1, 2, 24, 36; viii. 1, 25; ix. 14, 38; x. 46, 47; xi. 8-10. The outcast classes were especially attracted, ii. 15. Some forsook all they had to follow Him, i. 18, 20; ii. 24. Nevertheless, even His own disciples at times failed to apprehend His meaning, viii. 16, ix. 32; and His relatives, on one occasion at least, believed Him mad, iii. 21. The opposition of the religious and political leaders of the nation was aroused, ii. 6, 7, 16, 17, 24; iii. 2, 6, 22; vi. 2; vii. 1-13; viii. 11-13; x. 2; xi. 18, 27-33; xii. 13-18; xiv. 1, 10, 11, 55; xv. 2; and the agitation set on foot by them at last became powerful enough to convince the Roman governor that the sacrifice of His life was necessary for the preservation of the public peace, xv. 15.

The second Gospel not written with dogmatic intention.

It is evident as the analysis proceeds that the second Gospel was not written in order to base any series of dogmatic propositions regarding the Person and Work

of our Lord on the facts related.<sup>1</sup> Conclusions of this nature which might be deduced from it, are too vague and incomplete to have served as the 'motif' of the work. And yet if a thoughtful reader, unacquainted with Christianity save through the Marcan tradition, were to attempt to reduce to coherent form the ideas respecting Jesus of Nazareth conveyed to him therein, he would undoubtedly build up for himself a considerable part of that great structure known as the creed of the Catholic Church. He would have before his mind's eye a Person most certainly unique, in some sense divine, and yet most truly human, albeit the sense in which He was uniquely the Son of God he would be very far from being able to explain. That this unique Person suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead and buried, that He rose again, and that He shall come at the end of the world as a King in heavenly glory, our reader would find explicitly stated in the second Gospel. On those articles of the Christian Creed which affirm that our Lord was conceived of the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary, that He descended into hell, and that He ascended into heaven, the original Gospel of St. Mark as it has come down to

Yet provides basis for the Catholic faith.

Articles of the Creed without positive support from Marcan tradition.

<sup>1</sup> The Rev. T. A. Lacey suggests that the publishing of the Marcan tradition was a reaction against a tendency, springing out of Pauline teaching, to refuse to recognise our Lord's 'human limitations—the tendency to convert the Incarnation into a pure Theophany' (*The Historic Christ*, p. 61). The second Gospel, however, shows no signs of having been written with a polemic tendency, as does, for example, that of St. John (cf. John xx. 30, 31).

Yet there  
is negative  
support for  
the Virgin  
Birth.

us is silent. The first two of these articles may, of course, be absent because they were not known to the writer. Nevertheless, it is at least as likely that he does not mention them because they do not come within the purview of his work, which was to give St. Peter's reminiscences of our Lord's ministry, not to narrate the story of His life. It is remarkable in this connection that while the first and third Gospels, to which we are indebted for the story of the Virgin Birth, contain several expressions which, considered in themselves, are difficult to reconcile with it, St. Mark's Gospel is absolutely free from anything of the kind. There is no mention whatever of an earthly Father. Even the murmurers in Nazareth do not say, as in the first Gospel, 'Is not this the carpenter's son?' (Matt. xiii. 55), but 'Is not this the carpenter?' (Mark vi. 3). In the face of this fact, it is difficult to believe that the story of the Virgin Birth is a development of later date than St. Mark's Gospel, and unknown to the writer of it.<sup>1</sup>

Post-resur-  
rection ap-  
pearances  
and the  
Ascension.

As regards the two last articles, in view of the fact generally admitted by scholars that the genuine St. Mark as we now have it is a fragment broken off at the eighth verse of the sixteenth chapter, the absence of accounts of post-resurrection appearances, or of the Ascension of our Lord, is no argument for or against the inclusion of these topics in the original document.

<sup>1</sup> See *St. Mark's Witness to the Virgin Birth*, by the Rev. V. M'Nabb, *J. T. S.*, vol. viii., No. 31, p. 448.

There are, however, as has been stated already, certain indications that an appearance of the Risen Lord in Galilee formed part of the Evangelist's scheme of narration. Again, as regards the Ascension, although there is no indication of the actual inclusion of it in the original St. Mark, that the Evangelist believed in such an event seems evident from his recording those sayings of our Lord which bear upon His second coming, viii. 38, xiii. 26, 27, xiv. 62.

The descent into Hades is thus the only article in the Christology of the Apostles' Creed absolutely without support of any kind in the Marcan tradition.

The belief of a writer, and the truth of that in which he believes, are of course quite distinct things. In the case of the earliest written Gospel it is difficult to demonstrate the truth of what is narrated from the very fact that it is the earliest Gospel. There is obvious lack of corroborative testimony. Yet though demonstrative proof may be wanting for this, as for other matters of belief, which in fact the human race could not, without great and obvious loss, afford to disbelieve, indications are not wanting which throw the weight of probability strongly on the side of the credibility of the Marcan tradition. Probability is, as in Bishop Butler's days, the guide of life. In the Marcan tradition we find that aspect of the ministry of Jesus of Nazareth, which, the earliest to present itself in written form to the eyes of those who had companied with Him during the days of His Flesh, so successfully passed that test as to be accepted

Descent  
into Hell.

Probability  
on the side  
of the truth  
of the  
Marcan  
tradition.

by the Church for one of the four authentic records of her Founder's words and works. To one who adequately considers the character of the record, of the faith built upon what it asserts, and of the history of the Church, the beginnings of the foundation of which it is the earliest to relate, probability will assuredly seem to be overwhelmingly in its favour.

## APPENDIX I

## A CLASSIFICATION OF VERSES OF ST. MARK'S GOSPEL REPRODUCED WHOLLY OR IN PART IN THE OTHER SYNOPTICS

A.—*In St. Matthew.*

I. Verses of St. Mark reproduced almost, if not quite, word for word in St. Matthew.

1. Mainly narrative:—i. 3, 5-8, 10, 11, 16, 18, 19, 22, 41, 42, 44; ii. 5, 14, 15, 24; iii. 12, 18; v. 25, 27; vi. 3, 17, 28, 34, 42, 49, 50; vii. 28; viii. 8, 9, 29; ix. 2, 4, 5, 7, 11; x. 2, 13, 26, 28; xi. 1, 9, 15, 22, 28, 31, 32; xii. 18, 23; xiv. 19, 26, 29, 32, 37*a*, 39, 44-47, 50, 53, 55, 63, 70, 72; xv. 2, 19, 20, 27-33, 35-38, 40.
2. Mainly discourse:—i. 17; ii. 10, 11, 17, 20, 22, 27; iii. 4, 27, 35; iv. 3-6, 11, 12, 14, 17, 25; vi. 10; vii. 6, 7, 10, 11, 15, 20, 21; viii. 2, 5, 33-37; ix. 19, 37, 42, 43, 47; x. 3, 6-9, 11, 14, 15, 19, 21, 24, 27, 31, 33, 40, 42-45; xi. 17, 24, 29, 33*b*; xii. 1, 7-11, 15, 17, 24, 25, 36, 37, 39; xiii. 5-8, 10, 13-22, 24-32; xiv. 9, 18, 21-25, 27, 28, 30, 34, 37*b*, 38, 42, 48.

II. Verses so far reproduced in St. Matthew as to leave no doubt that they were derived from St. Mark.

1. Mainly narrative:—i. 9, 13, 14, 31, 32, 40; ii. 12,

16, 18, 23; iii. 1, 2, 6-8, 16, 19, 20, 32, 33; iv. 1, 37, 38-40; v. 1, 2, 11, 12, 13, 14, 17, 23, 26; vi. 2, 6, 7, 14, 16, 18, 19, 22, 26, 29, 32, 33, 35, 36, 39, 41, 43-46, 48, 51, 53, 56; vii. 5; viii. 4, 6, 7, 11, 13, 16, 27, 28, 32; ix. 28, 36; x. 1, 4, 16, 17, 20, 22, 32, 36, 37, 41, 47, 48, 51; xi. 7, 8, 13, 19, 20, 21; xii. 12, 13, 14, 16, 19, 20, 22, 28; xiii. 3, 4; xiv. 1-3, 5, 11, 12, 16, 31, 33, 35, 40, 43, 54, 58, 60, 61, 64, 65, 68, 69, 71; xv. 1, 3-6, 9, 10, 14-18, 21, 22, 24, 26, 39, 41, 43, 46; xvi. 6, 7.

2. Mainly discourse:—i. 15; ii. 9, 19, 21, 25; iii. 28; iv. 7-9, 16, 18-21, 24, 31, 32; vi. 8, 9, 11; vii. 9, 13, 14, 18, 19, 22, 23, 27; viii. 3, 15, 17, 19, 20, 31; ix. 1, 12, 13, 31, 41; x. 5, 18, 23, 29, 38, 39; xi. 2, 3, 14, 23; xii. 2-4, 6, 26, 27, 30, 31, 35; xiii. 2, 23, 35; xiv. 6-8, 14, 20, 36, 41, 49, 62.

III. Verses so far reproduced in St. Matthew as to make it probable that they are derived from St. Mark.

1. Mainly narrative:—i. 4, 30, 34, 39; ii. 3, 6, 7; iii. 5, 21, 31, 32; iv. 2, 34, 35, 41; v. 7, 24, 30, 38, 39a, 40, 41; vi. 1, 4, 5, 8, 21, 25, 37, 38, 47, 54, 55; vii. 1, 2, 4; viii. 10, 12, 14, 30; ix. 3, 8, 9, 17, 22, 33; x. 35, 46, 49; xi. 6, 10, 11, 27; xii. 21, 34; xiii. 1; xiv. 4, 10, 56, 66, 67; xv. 7, 11-13, 23, 42, 47; xvi. 1, 3, 8.
2. Mainly discourse:—iii. 25, 26, 29; iv. 15, 23, 34, 39b; vi. 5; viii. 18, 38; ix. 45, 50; x. 12, 30, 34, 52; xi. 25; xii. 5, 29, 38; xiii. 9, 34; xiv. 13.

IV. Where the resemblance between the verses and their parallels in St. Matthew's Gospel are insignificant.

1. Mainly narrative:—i. 2, 12, 20; ii. 1, 26; iii. 9, 14, 17, 22; iv. 10, 33, 36; v. 3, 4, 15, 16, 22, 32, 35,



- 36, 42; vi. 16, 23, 24, 27; vii. 17, 25, 26, 31, 32, 33, 37; viii. 1; ix. 6, 14, 25, 26, 29, 30, 34; x. 10; xi. 12, 18; xv. 44, 45; xvi. 2, 4, 5.
2. Mainly discourse:—ii. 8; iii. 24; iv. 13, 22, 26, 27, 29, 30; vii. 12, 29; ix. 35; xiii. 12, 33.

B.—*In St. Luke's Gospel.*

I. Verses of St. Mark reproduced almost, if not quite, word for word in St. Luke.

1. Mainly narrative:—i. 3, 4, 7, 8, 11, 23, 24, 41, 42, 44; ii. 7, 14; iii. 1, 2; v. 1, 11, 14, 25, 35; vi. 42; ix. 5, 7, 32, 38; x. 13, 20, 48; xi. 28, 31; xii. 8, 19, 23; xiv. 72; xv. 2, 33, 37, 43.
2. Mainly discourse:—i. 25; ii. 10, 11, 17, 20, 22, 27; iii. 4; iv. 4, 9, 11, 24, 25; v. 8, 36; vi. 10; viii. 29, 31, 34, 35, 36; ix. 37, 40; x. 14, 15, 18, 19, 21, 23, 24, 31, 34, 52; xi. 2, 17, 29, 30, 33*b*; xii. 3, 8, 9, 17, 25, 30, 36, 37-40, 44; xiii. 8, 15, 17, 29, 30, 31; xiv. 13, 14, 15, 48.

II. Verses so far reproduced in St. Luke as to leave no doubt that they are derived from St. Mark.

1. Mainly narrative:—i. 10, 12, 22, 27, 30, 32, 34, 35; ii. 5, 8, 12, 16, 23, 24; iii. 7, 8, 16, 18, 19, 20, 32, 35, 41; v. 6, 7, 9, 10, 13, 15, 17, 18, 20, 22, 26, 31, 33, 37, 40, 42, 43; vi. 7, 15, 17, 30, 36, 41, 43, 44; viii. 28, 30; ix. 2, 4, 18, 36; x. 17, 26, 28, 47; xi. 1, 5, 6, 9, 18, 32, 33*a*; xii. 12, 16, 20, 21, 22; xiii. 4; xiv. 1, 11, 12, 16, 26, 47, 63, 65, 68, 69, 70; xv. 3, 14, 21, 24, 26, 31, 38, 41; xvi. 2, 6.
2. Mainly discourse:—ii. 8, 9, 19, 21, 25; iv. 3, 6, 7, 18, 19, 21, 22, 23, 30; v. 19, 34, 39; vi. 8, 9, 11;

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viii. 38 ; ix. 1, 19, 31, 39, 42, 50 ; x. 27, 30, 33, 42, 43 ; xi. 3 ; xii. 1, 2, 7, 10, 26, 27, 31, 35, 42, 43 ; xiii. 2, 5, 6, 7, 9, 13, 14, 16, 21, 25, 26, 28 ; xiv. 21-23, 25, 30, 36, 62.

III. Verses so far reproduced in St. Luke as to make it probable that they are derived from St. Mark.

1. Mainly narrative :—i. 5, 26, 28, 29, 31, 39, 45 ; ii. 4, 6, 15, 18 ; iii. 5, 22, 31, 34 ; iv. 10, 37, 38, 39 ; v. 4, 12, 16, 23, 24, 29, 30, 39, 41 ; vi. 4, 14, 33, 35, 37, 38 ; viii. 11, 12, 27 ; ix. 3, 19, 20, 46 ; x. 51 ; xi. 4, 7, 8, 15, 27 ; xii. 4, 28, 34 ; xiii. 3 ; xiv. 10, 43, 54, 55, 61, 71 ; xv. 7, 13, 15, 22, 27, 30, 46, 47 ; xvi. 1, 3.
2. Mainly discourse :—iii. 24, 26 ; iv. 5, 8, 12, 15, 16, 20, 32 ; vi. 5 ; x. 12, 29 ; xi. 22 ; xii. 4, 6, 15, 41 ; xiii. 11, 12, 35, 36 ; xiv. 18, 38, 49.

IV. Where the resemblance between the verses and their parallels in St. Luke are insignificant.

1. Mainly narrative :—i. 2, 9, 12, 14, 16, 19, 21, 36, 37 ; ii. 3, 13, 26 ; iii. 9, 10, 13, 14, 17, 21, 30, 33 ; iv. 1, 2, 36, 40 ; v. 2, 3, 21, 38 ; vi. 1, 2, 3, 6, 12, 13, 31, 32, 34, 39, 40 ; viii. 29*a* ; ix. 6, 8, 9, 14, 18, 25, 33, 34 ; x. 1, 22, 32, 35, 49 ; xi. 10, 19 ; xii. 13 ; xiii. 6 ; xiv. 29, 35, 37*a*, 45, 46, 64, 66, 67 ; xv. 1, 4, 5, 9, 11, 12, 17, 20, 28, 29, 32, 36, 39 ; xvi. 4, 5, 7, 8.
2. Mainly discourse :—i. 17, 18, 38 ; iii. 23, 25, 27, 28, 29, 35 ; iv. 13, 14, 17, 31 ; viii. 15, 21 ; ix. 35 ; x. 44, 45 ; xi. 23, 24, 25 ; xii. 5, 24, 29 ; xiii. 24, 32, 33, 37 ; xiv. 24, 37*b*.

## APPENDIX II

## ORDER OF INCIDENTS IN THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS

THIS is a comparison of narratives and extended discourses, not of short or isolated sayings of our Lord, the order of which is much more varied in the different Gospels, owing probably to the influence of some other document used by the compilers of the first and third Gospels.

No. of Section of St. Mark.	St. Matthew.	St. Mark.	St. Luke.	Altera- tion in St. Matt.	Altera- tion in St. Luke.
1	iii. 1-12	i. 1-8	iii. 1-17	—	—
2	iii. 13-17	i. 9-11	iii. 21-22	—	—
3	iv. 1-11	i. 12-13	iv. 1-13	—	—
4	iv. 12, 17	i. 14-15	iv. 14, 15	—	—
5	iv. 18-22	i. 16-20	—	—	—
—	—	—	iv. 16-30	—	24
—	viii. 2-4	—	—	10	—
6	Wanting	i. 21-28	iv. 31-37	—	—
7	viii. 14, 15	i. 29-31	iv. 38, 39	—	—
8	viii. 16	i. 32-34	iv. 40, 41	—	—
9	Wanting	i. 35-39	iv. 42, 44	—	—
—	—	—	v. 1-11	—	5
10	—	i. 40-45	v. 12-16	—	—
—	viii. 23-27	—	—	21	—
—	viii. 28-34	—	—	22	—
11	ix. 1-8	ii. 1-12	v. 17-26	—	—
12	ix. 9-13	ii. 13-17	v. 27-32	—	—
13	ix. 14-17	ii. 18-22	v. 33-39	—	—
14	—	ii. 23-28	vi. 1-5	—	—
15	—	iii. 1-6	vi. 6-11	—	—
—	ix. 18-26	—	—	23	—
—	—	—	vi. 12-17	—	17

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No. of Section of St. Mark.	St. Matthew.	St. Mark.	St. Luke.	Alter- ation in St. Matt.	Alter- ation in St. Luke.
16	ix. 35-38	iii. 7-12	vi. 17-19	—	—
17	x. 1-5	iii. 13-19	—	—	—
18	—	iii. 19-30	—	—	—
19	—	iii. 31-35	—	—	—
—	—	—	vii. 36-50	—	64(?)
20*	—	iv. 1-34	viii. 4-18	—	—
—	—	—	viii. 19-21	—	19
21	—	iv. 35-41	viii. 22-25	—	—
22	—	v. 1-20	viii. 26-39	—	—
23	—	v. 21-43	viii. 40-56	—	—
—	x. 6-42	—	—	25	—
—	xii. 1-8	—	—	14	—
—	xii. 9-14	—	—	15	—
—	xii. 22-32	—	—	18	—
—	xii. 46-50	—	—	19	—
—	xiii. 1-52	—	—	20	—
24	xiii. 53-58	vi. 1-6	—	—	—
25	—	vi. 7-13	ix. 1-6	—	—
26	xiv. 1-3	vi. 14-16	ix. 7-9	—	—
27	xiv. 4-12	vi. 17-29	Wanting	—	—
28	xiv. 13-21	vi. 30-44	ix. 10-17	—	—
29	xiv. 22-36	vi. 45-56	Wanting	—	—
30	xv. 1-20	vii. 1-23	Wanting	—	—
31	xv. 21-28	vii. 24-30	Wanting	—	—
32	Wanting	vii. 31-37	Wanting	—	—
33	xv. 32-39	viii. 1-9	Wanting	—	—
34	xv. 39—xvi. 4	viii. 10-12	?	—	—
35	xvi. 5-12	viii. 13-21	Wanting	—	—
36	Wanting	viii. 22-26	Wanting	—	—
37	xvi. 13-28	viii. 27—ix. 1	ix. 18-27	—	—
38	xvii. 1-13	ix. 2-13	ix. 28-36	—	—
39	xvii. 14-21	ix. 14-29	ix. 37-43	—	—
40	xvii. 22, 23	ix. 30-32	ix. 43-45	—	—
41	xviii. 1-5	ix. 33-37	ix. 46-48	—	—
42	Wanting	ix. 38-40	ix. 49, 50	—	—
43	xviii. 6-9	ix. 41-50	—	—	—
44	xix. 1-12	x. 1-12	Wanting	—	—
—	—	—	x. 25-28	—	58
—	—	—	xi. 14-26	—	18
—	—	—	xi. 29, 30	—	34(?)

\* This includes a section of discourse, Mark iv. 26-29, without parallel in the other Synoptics.

No. of Section of St. Mark.	St. Matthew.	St. Mark.	St. Luke.	Alteration in St. Matt.	Alteration in St. Luke.
45	xix. 13-15	x. 13-16	xviii. 15-17	—	—
46	xix. 16-30	x. 17-31	xviii. 18-30	—	—
47	xx. 17-19	x. 32-34	xviii. 31-34	—	—
48	xx. 20-23	x. 35-40	Wanting	—	—
49	xx. 24-28	x. 41-45	—	—	—
50	xx. 29-34	x. 46-52	xviii. 35-43	—	—
51	xxi. 1-11	xi. 1-11	xix. 29-38	—	—
52 (a)	—	xi. 12-14	Wanting	—	—
53	xxi. 12-16	xi. 15-18	xix. 45-48	—	—
52 (b)	xxi. 17-22	xi. 19-26	Wanting	52 a + b	—
54	xxi. 23-27	xi. 27-33	xx. 1-8	—	—
55	xxi. 33-46	xii. 1-12	xx. 9-19	—	—
56	xxii. 15-22	xii. 13-17	xx. 22-26	—	—
57	xxii. 23-33	xii. 18-27	xx. 27-38	—	—
58	xxii. 34-40	xii. 28-34	—	—	—
59	xxii. 41-45	xii. 35-37	xx. 40-44	—	—
60	xxiii. 1-38	xii. 38-40	xx. 45-47	—	—
61	Wanting	xii. 41-44	xxi. 1-4	—	—
62	{ xxiv. 1— xxv. 46	xiii. 1-37	xxi. 5-38	—	—
63	xxvi. 1-5	xiv. 1, 2	xxii. 1, 2	—	—
64	xxvi. 6-13	xiv. 3-9	Wanting	—	—
65	xxvi. 14-16	xiv. 10-11	xxii. 3-6	—	—
66	xxvi. 17-19	xiv. 12-16	xxii. 7-13	—	—
67	xxvi. 20-25	xiv. 17-21	xxii. 21-23	—	—
68	xxvi. 26-29	xiv. 22-25	—	—	—
—	—	—	xxii. 24-27	—	49
—	—	—	xxii. 31-34	—	70
69	xxvi. 30-32	xiv. 26-28	xxii. 39	—	—
70	xxvi. 33-35	xiv. 29-31	—	—	—
71	xxvi. 36-46	xiv. 32-42	xxii. 40-46	—	—
72	xxvi. 47-56	xiv. 43-52	xxii. 47-53	—	—
—	—	—	xxii. 56-62	—	75
—	—	—	xxii. 63-65	—	74
73	xxvi. 57-66	xiv. 53-64	xxii. 66-71	—	—
74	xxvi. 67-68	xiv. 65	—	—	—
75	xxvi. 69-75	xiv. 66-72	—	—	—
76	{ xxvii. 1, 2, 11-16	xv. 1-5	xxiii. 1-5	—	—
77	xxvii. 15-26	xv. 6-15	xxiii. 13-25	—	—
78	xxvii. 27-31	xv. 16-20	Wanting	—	—
79	xxvii. 31-32	xv. 20, 21	xxiii. 26	—	—
80	xxvii. 33	xv. 22	xxiii. 33	—	—

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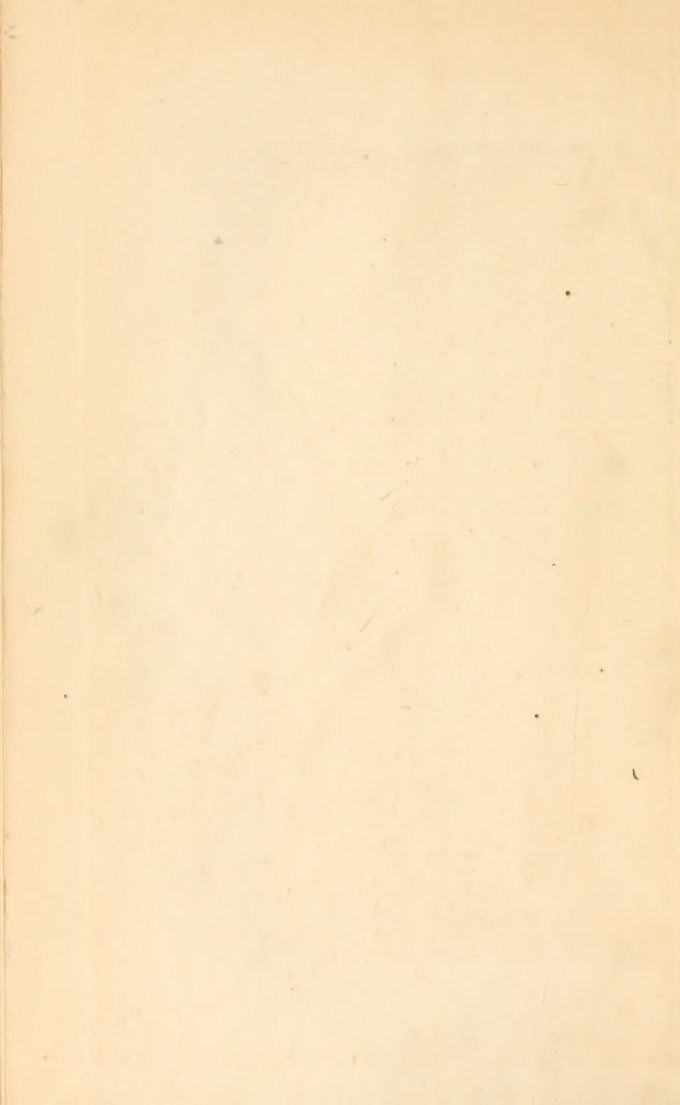
No. of Section of St. Mark.	St. Matthew.	St. Mark.	St. Luke.	Alter- ation in St. Matt.	Alter- ation in St. Luke.
81	xxvii. 34	xv. 23	—	—	—
—	—	—	xxiii. 33	—	84
82	xxvii. 35	xv. 24	xxiii. 34	—	—
—	—	—	xxiii. 35	—	85
—	—	—	xxiii. 36, 37	—	81
83	xxvii. 36, 37	xv. 25, 26	xxiii. 38	—	—
84	xxvii. 38	xv. 27	—	—	—
85	xxvii. 39-44	xv. 29-32	—	—	—
86	xxvii. 45	xv. 33	xxiii. 44	—	—
87	xxvii. 46-49	xv. 34-36	Wanting	—	—
—	—	—	xxiii. 45	—	89
88	xxvii. 50	xv. 37	xxiii. 46	—	—
89	xxvii. 51	xv. 38	—	—	—
90	xxvii. 54-56	xv. 39-41	xxiii. 47-49	—	—
91	xxviii. 57-61	xv. 42-47	xxiii. 50-55	—	—
92	xxviii. 1-8	xvi. 1-8	xxiv. 1-11	—	—











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